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SAINT ANTHONY OF PADUA

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"Il Santo," Padua
SAINT ANTHONY OF PADUA

SAINT ANTHONY OF PADUA

ACCORDING TO HIS CONTEMPORARIES

By ERNEST GILLIAT-SMITH



1926

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SAINT ANTHONY OF PADUA

SOME PRELIMINARY NOTES CONCERNING SOURCES

THREE legends of Saint Anthony have come down to us by men of his own Order and of his own day :—

a. The “ Primitive Legend.”—An anonymous work written very soon after Saint Anthony’s death (June 13th, 1231), the greater part of it, most likely, before his Canonization (May 31st, 1232). It is an original document without doubt—the first life of Saint Anthony that was ever written—and notwithstanding its defects—and it has many—our chief and surest source of information concerning him. The author says that some of the things that he relates had come under his own observation, and that he had learnt the rest from eye-witnesses—Sugerius II, Bishop of Lisbon (from 1210 to 1231) and certain friars and devout citizens, men worthy of credit. This work has been printed several times : the best edition is by Léon de Kerval whose notes are

most valuable—*Collection d'études et de documents sur l'histoire religieuse et littéraire du Moyen Age. Tome V. Sancti Antonii de Padua vitae duae. Paris. Fischbacher, 1904.*

b. "Julian's Legend."—So called because it is generally attributed, and I think rightly, to Julian von Speier, a liturgist musician and poet, famous in his lifetime and for several generations afterwards. He was the author of an "Office of Saint Anthony," which is still chanted, and his Legend was composed for a set of lessons for that Office. It is largely, though not entirely, derived from the "Primitive Legend," but much better written and with much more life in it, and it is almost as old as the "Primitive Legend." The Bollandists give the text of this Life under the title *Vita auctore anonymo valde antiquo. Acta S.S., t. III Junii*, p. 197, *ed. Palmé.*

c. The "Dialogus Legend."—This Life is contained in a collection of short dialogue-lives of Holy Franciscans, written at the behest of Minister General Crescentius, who reigned from 1244 to 1247, by his successor Blessed John of Parma. It was discovered amongst the manuscripts of the Museo Borgia in the summer of 1902 by Father Franz Ehrle, S.J. (now Cardinal Ehrle), who at that time was Prefect of the Vatican Library, and published before the close of the year by

Father Lehonard Lemmens, O.M.—*Dialogus de vitis sanctorum fratrum minorum scriptum circa 1245, nunc primum edidit Fr. Leonardus Lemmens, O.F.M., Romae Typis Sallustianis MCMII.*

It is evident from the text that this Legend, like Julian's, is derived to a very large extent from the "Primitive Legend," but the author intimates that many of Saint Anthony's acts and miracles had taken place under his own eyes—*Auditor. De . . . Sancti Antonii fratris nostri gestis, pariter et miraculis audire desidero, si qua nosti. Narrator. Novi nempe de his, quae postulas, frater, multa per visum.* It would seem, then, that Saint Anthony and the famous Joachimist General knew something of one another. Salimbene says that his friend, John of Parma, knew how to season his writings with pithy sayings. This little treatise is written with much pious unction and in very elegant Latin, but, alas, the pithy sayings are few and far between.

The Dominican, Bartholomew of Trent, has a brief notice of Saint Anthony in his *Liber epilogorum in gesta sanctorum*. It is concise, clear and, as far as it goes, accurate, and for the convenience of readers who have no knowledge of the Saint's history I will quote it in full :—

"Anthony, whom I have seen and with whom I was personally acquainted, was a native of

Spain. He at first embraced the Rule of Augustine, but afterwards entered the Order of Friars Minor, and by his word and example he brought back many who had wandered from the way of Truth. Moreover, he had a great desire to evangelize the Moors and to receive from them the Crown of Martyrdom. He had the gift of eloquence and drew a multitude to Christ. Once, whilst he was preaching to his brethren assembled in Chapter, Saint Francis appeared to one of them, blessing the congregation. He preached to the men of Padua and induced not a few usurers to make restitution, and there he wrote some good sermons. At length, at the place called Arcella (just outside the city walls), he fell asleep in Christ. They carried his body back to town and laid it to rest in the Church of Saint Mary the Virgin, where the Friars Minor dwell and where a noble monastery is now being built in memory of this Holy Confessor. Whilst he was dying he had on his lips this hymn to Our Dear Lady—*O gloriosa Domina* and the rest, and he said to one of his brethren ‘I see my Lord.’ Many miracles were worked after his decease, and we read that a boy and a girl who had been drowned were brought back to life through his merits.” Kerval gives the Latin text in his work above referred to, p. 249.

The opening words of this little sketch are noteworthy—*Antonius quem ipse vidi et cognovi*. Bartholomew is the only one of the Saint's biographers who says distinctly that he was acquainted with him.

The great memorial church of Saint Anthony was not consecrated until 1260, but it was begun twenty years earlier at least. In all probability Bartholomew's tract was written about 1245.

Amongst the writers of Saint Anthony's day who refer to him incidentally, Rolandino of Padua holds the first place. Like his father before him he was a man of letters, an historian, careful and conscientious, and for the happenings of his own time in his own land he is a writer whose word is to be relied on. He knew Saint Anthony and had heard some of his sermons, and the greater part of what he tells us concerning him is not related by any of the Saint's biographers. Rolandino was born in the year 1200, he was established in Padua as a notary in 1227, completed his great work *De factis in Marchia Tarvisina* in 1260, and died on the 2nd of February, 1276. The text of Rolandino's Chronicle is given by Muratori in his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, t. VIII, Milan, 1726 : *Rolandini Patavini de Factis in Marchia Tarvisina, Libri XII*.

In that scandalous Chronicle of his which

he wrote for the edification of his niece, that book of intimate recollections wherein he tells us so many things concerning himself and his friends and the famous men with whom he had come in contact, Salimbene of Saint Adam, for one so loquacious, has surprisingly little to say of that famous man Saint Anthony. True he was not acquainted with him, though possibly in his childhood he may have seen him and have slept through some of his long sermons, for he was only ten years of age when Saint Anthony died. But ignorance was not the cause of Salimbene's reticence: he intended, he explains, if he lived long enough, to discourse of him more abundantly and perorate concerning him more profusely in another place. The book that he had in his mind was never written, or if it was it has disappeared. Perhaps it will be found some day and then we shall have a life of Saint Anthony that at all events is not dull. But although Salimbene's testimony is meagre, it is of very great value, for what he affirms is not even hinted at by any of the Saint's contemporary biographers.

Salimbene was born in 1221; in spite of his father and in spite of the Emperor, in 1238 he joined the Order of Saint Francis; he wrote his Chronicle between 1283 and 1288, and as it breaks

off in that year in all probability 1288 was the year in which he died.

Thomas of Eccleston in his *Liber de adventu Minorum in Angliam*, which was written about 1260, mentions Saint Anthony in more places than one and gives us some fresh facts. His evidence is, in its way, as interesting as the evidence of Rolandino or of Salimbene, but not, I fear, so reliable : for Brother Thomas was an Englishman who had never left his native soil and Assisi was the scene of what he says about Saint Anthony and also he wrote his account of the incidents in question thirty years after they had taken place.

Thomas of Celano in his first " Life of Saint Francis " has an anecdote concerning Saint Anthony which he refers to also in his second Life ; and though Julian relates the same story and several other early writers as well, including the Dominican Bartholomew of Trent above-said, Celano's version is especially noteworthy from the fact that it was written during Saint Anthony's lifetime. The Florentine Legend which dates from about 1275 is the most important of the later Lives of Saint Anthony, for it contains the earliest account we have of the Sermon to the Fishes and it is a very different account to that in the Fioretti. This Legend was discovered by

Father Lemmens in 1902 in a thirteenth-century *Legendarium* which once belonged to the great Minorite House of Santa Croce at Florence and is now in the *Biblioteca Laurentiana*. It is a re-setting of Julian's Legend—a summary interspersed with fairy tales. Of its author we know three things: he was a Franciscan with a keen sense of humour who knew how to write. He is always concise and clear, his words are well chosen, his sentences are constructed grammatically and rhythmically and the sound of them is as soothing music.

Was Archbishop Peckham of Canterbury, who, says Glassberger (1500) *Vitam beati Antonii miro stylo conscripsit*, the writer of this pleasant book?

More than twenty years ago Monsieur Léon de Kerval discovered in the Rosenthal MS., now in the possession of the faculty of Protestant theology of the University of Paris, a very considerable portion of a legend of Saint Anthony by a Franciscan of Padua which was written in 1316 or thereabout and which he (Kerval) named the "Legend Benignitas."

This fragmentary legend, which is preceded in the Rosenthal MS. by the text of the Primitive Legend is thus headed:—The following extracts are taken from another legend of Saint Anthony,

that which begins with the words *Benignitas et humanitas Salvatoris nostri*. The rest of this legend I have altogether omitted, because the information therein contained may all be read in the preceding legend.

The Legend Benignitas, then, consisted of the Primitive Legend, at all events in substance, with interpolations, and the extracts from it in the Rosenthal MS. are the interpolations. They consist of certain very interesting biographical details, whether or no they be reliable who shall say, and of certain curious anecdotes concerning the Saint, of which some are anachronistic and all but one demonstrably mendacious. All these things were known to us before Kerval's discovery, but from men who lived at least a hundred years after the author of "Benignitas" and whose writings therefore are even more suspect than his.

Of diplomatic documents we have two distinct and differently worded Canonization Bulls:—*Litteras quas per dilectos filios*, addressed to the Podestà and People of Padua, and dated June 1st, 1232; and, *Cum dicat Dominus*, addressed to all Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops and other rulers of churches. This Bull was no doubt sent out on different dates. In the Sacro Convento at Assisi there is an original copy of it with the seals attached, dated June 1st, 1232. Saint

Anthony was canonized on Whitsun Day, 1232, which in that year fell on the 31st of May. Also, we have a rescript addressed by Alexander IV on the 18th of February, 1255, to the men of Barcelona bidding them celebrate the feast of Saint Anthony every year in very solemn fashion. *Cum beatus Antonius*. These three letters are the only ones directly concerning Saint Anthony, but concerning him indirectly we have a whole series of letters written by Gregory IX at various times and to various persons, and they are of the first importance. Unless otherwise stated all the diplomatic documents quoted in this book are to be found in full in Sbaralea's *Bullarium Franciscanum* or in Eubel's Supplement to that work.

Of private letters, only one has come down to us—a little undated note to the Saint from the Seraphic Patriarch authorizing him to lecture on theology—and its authenticity is not uncontestable.

CHAPTER I

CHAPTER I

Of Saint Anthony's birth and childhood with some notes concerning his family. How, when he was fifteen years of age, he joined the Canons Regular of the Congregation of Saint Cross. Of Regular Canons in general and especially of the men of Saint Cross, with an account of their first Prior Saint Theotonio. Of Saint Anthony's life in this Congregation in Lisbon and in Coimbra.

THE great Franciscan Saint, Anthony of Padua—if not the greatest, at all events the most venerated and the most frequently invoked of all the saintly sons of the Seraphic Patriarch—is so called, not because he was born in Padua or because Padua was at any time his home, but because he chanced to die there and there his bones were laid to rest.

His Christian name was Ferdinand, of his family name we are ignorant and of his forebears only this can be said with assurance:—His father was a citizen of Lisbon of a noble and powerful family, and he lived in a house befitting his rank, that stood within the shadow of the great West Porch of Lisbon Cathedral. In this house, in the year 1195, when both his parents were still “in the first flower of youth,”

Saint Anthony was born, in this church he was baptized, in the school attached to it he made his first studies, and until he was fifteen years of age he remained beneath his father's roof with the simple things of home.

According to the author of "Benignitas" his father's Christian name was Martino and his mother's Christian name was Maria: he was a knight of Alfonso (Alfonso II seemingly, who reigned from 1211 to 1223) and she was a knight's daughter. Whence these details and what are they worth? Questions not easy to answer. The author of the "Florentine Legend," however, speaks of a sister of Saint Anthony at Lisbon, who was married and had a son. When this child was five years old he was drowned in a boating accident and three hours afterwards his body was recovered by some fishermen in a net. His father desired to bury him forthwith, but when his mother invoked her brother, Saint Anthony, the child opened his eyes and in a very short time was completely restored to health, and when he grew up he became a Franciscan. Now if this story be true, if Saint Anthony really had a nephew in the Order, it is likely enough that it was from the lips of this nephew that the author of "Benignitas" had learnt the Christian names of Saint Anthony's father and mother and what

was their social standing. In any case, as Kerval remarks, it is interesting to find that in 1316 (the date of "Benignitas") Saint Anthony had not yet become a grandson or a great-grandson of Godfrey of Bouillon. Mark of Lisbon, who wrote more than two hundred years later, was the first to make this rash assertion which so many subsequent biographers of the Saint have repeated as gospel truth and which the Abbé Lepitre in the first chapter of his *Saint Antoine de Padoue* together with some other genealogical glorifications has summarily and conclusively refuted.

But to return to the story of Saint Anthony according to his contemporaries. When he was fifteen years of age, says the author of the "Primitive Legend," he first began to be worried by the waywardness of "Brother Ass," and although he was always able to hold the mastery over him, nevertheless so bitter was the struggle, that it seemed to him that if he would carry the white robe of baptism stainless to the Judgment Seat of Christ, he must needs go in by the strait gate and walk in the narrow way of religion ; so he renounced the world and the things of the world and joined the Augustinian Canons of the Congregation of Saint Cross in their Priory dedicated to Saint Vincent, just outside the city wall—*Santo Vicente de Fora*, as the men of Lisbon call it.

The Order of Canons Regular was already an ancient Order and widespread in the Western Church. Though all its members led the same sort of life—the common life, and were bound by vow to the same sort of work—pastoral work, for they were parish priests, educational work, for their houses were seminaries for the training of priests, and what Saint Benedict calls “the Work of God,” the recitation in common of the Divine Office, they never at any time had a common chief: all their houses were autonomous and entirely independent of one another, and until 1139, when Pope Innocent II ordained that henceforth all Canons Regular should observe the Rule of Saint Augustine, each community had lived under its own Form of Life.

The Augustinian Rule is so called, not because Saint Augustine wrote it, but because it is based on his two discourses, *De Moribus Clericorum* and on his letter (CCXI) to religious women. Its chief characteristic is lack of precision, and hence the Holy See has given it again and again to new associations, in order to enable them whilst conforming to the decree that all religious folk should live under some old and authorized Form of Life, to carry on the special work for which they were instituted. But although it is to-day the rule of several Orders and many associations of both

sexes, it was written in the beginning for one set of men—the Canons Regular—and its indefiniteness and lack of detail was in order to enable the numerous chapters of Regular Canons scattered all over Europe to preserve their ancient local uses. And thus it came about that many houses or groups of houses added thereto special constitutions, which were in due course approved by the Holy See : the community which Saint Norbert founded at Prémontré, for example, which still exists and is now an independent religious Order ; the famous convent of Saint Victor in Paris which produced those two great mystic poets, Adam of Saint Victor and Richard of Saint Victor ; and the congregation, hardly less famous, which Saint Anthony joined—Saint Cross of Coimbra.

This tree was planted by Tello, Archdeacon of Coimbra, in 1132, it struck its roots deep into the soil and from the first flourished exceedingly, and when Saint Anthony took shelter beneath its spreading branches it was already a king of the forest.

Saint Cross was fortunate in its first Prior—Saint Theotonio of Coimbra. He was a man of such blameless life and of so loveable a disposition, had such knowledge of men and things and was so wise and discreet, that strangers often journeyed

from distant parts to consult him about spiritual or temporal difficulties.

Coimbra was at this time the chief city of Portugal and the home of Alfonso Henriquez, now Count, later on first King of Portugal, and he held Theotonio in such regard, and had such faith in the power of his intercession, that he never went forth to battle without commending himself to his prayers ; for love of him he endowed Saint Cross with large revenues and entrusted to the keeping of its Canons a church which he himself had founded—*Santo Vicente de Fora*, above-mentioned. This famous church was built under strange and difficult circumstances. In the early days of 1147 Alfonso laid siege to Lisbon, which had been in the hands of the Moors for eighty years, and in the following month of October he entered the city triumphant. The church of Saint Vincent was founded for the repose of the souls of the slain, and though it stands within sight of the city walls, the first stone was laid and much of the building erected whilst the fighting was still going on.

Moreover, owing to the great esteem in which Saint Theotonio was held in the Eternal City, Saint Cross experienced also the favour of the Holy See :—The care of several parishes, notably the great parish of Lerenia ; a Privilege of Exemp-

tion from Episcopal Control, and, shortly after Theotonio's death, a privilege more rare—that no professed canon of Saint Cross could exchange his community for another, or quit the Order to join any other religious Order, unless he had first obtained the consent, not only of the Prior of Saint Cross but also of all the other members of the community.

This privilege has come down to us. It is signed by the English Pope, Adrian IV (1154–1159), and the day on which he set his seal to it was a red-letter day in the almanack of Coimbra. For the Canons of Coimbra maintained, like all Regular Canons, that the canonical life was a higher life than the monastic life. For the Canon, they said, had all the obligations of the monk and others into the bargain : like him he was a celibate under obedience, without personal property, vowed to the Work of God, and, unlike him, he had to endure the pain and sweat of parish-work and the aggravation of teaching and, “therefore,” they argued, “since in religion a man may mount but not descend, it is always lawful for a monk to become a Canon, always against the law to exchange a rochet for a cowl.”

Of course, this doctrine was not congenial to the men of the Black Order, and on account of it there was strife between the children of Saint Benedict

and the children of Saint Augustine for many years. Pope Adrian's "Privilege" in effect settled the dispute so far as it touched the Canons of Saint Cross, and in their favour, hence their jubilation.

Saint Theotonio was an intimate friend of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux and very proud he was of the walking-stick which Saint Bernard had given him and on which henceforth when he went abroad he never failed to lean. He died in 1152 and his government had lasted twenty years, long enough to mould the community to his liking, and when Saint Anthony joined it more than half a century later, his memory was still green, and the men of Saint Cross were still walking in the footsteps of their first Prior.

Saint Cross was at this time in the heyday of its good fame:—A society of assiduous students who specialized in Holy Writ and had what there was of culture and learning in the little kingdom of Portugal. A community of patient teachers whose schools, which were open to laymen as well as clerks, were held to be the best in the realm. A congregation of faithful shepherds who spent themselves and their large revenues in promoting the spiritual and temporal well-being of their sheep. In a word, these men, who loved God with all their hearts and their neighbours as themselves, wore the canonical rochet with much

dignity ; and in the uncouth land in which they lived their well-ordered houses and clean fields were so many centres of civilization.

When Saint Anthony had been at Saint Vincent's for two years, finding that his studies were too often interrupted by the visits of pleasant friends, he persuaded his Superior to transfer him to the Priory of Saint Cross. And so it came about that " he changed not his Order but his place of abode," and the enervating air of his native place for the clean, mountain winds of Coimbra. And remembering these words : " What shall it profit to dwell at Jerusalem " if the days there be not well spent, he determined to avail himself to the full of the advantages which Saint Cross afforded for the strengthening of the will and the brain. With all his heart and all his soul and all his might he studied sacred things, and having by nature a wonderful grip of memory, in a little while he made such progress that men were amazed at his erudition.

Of his life in the Augustinian Order, which lasted for ten years or more, and must have been a full life, and most likely was not devoid of striking incidents, these meagre facts, concealed in many words, make up the sum total of what we know. This great man like so many others was ill-served by his first biographer.

CHAPTER II

CHAPTER II

How, when and why Saint Anthony became a Franciscan.
Some notes concerning the state of the Seraphic Religion at this period.

IN the spring of the year 1220, or maybe a twelve-month later, Saint Anthony exchanged his fair linen rochet for the sackcloth and the rope which is the livery of the Seraphic Order. According to the "Primitive" writer and to Julian it came about in this way :—

When the elephant scents blood, forthwith he is eager for strife, and when Don Pedro Infant of Portugal brought home from Morocco the mangled remains of the first Franciscan Martyrs and they were laid up in a casket of gold in the Royal Church of Saint Cross, Saint Anthony at once began to pray and to hope that he too might one day be accounted worthy to be enrolled in the glorious band of Christ's gladiators. In a garden of Olives not far from the city of Coimbra there was a little Franciscan "Place"¹ dedicated

¹ The word "place" (*locus*) was often used at this period, not only colloquially but also in official documents, to signify a religious house and especially a Franciscan house: just as to-day it is used in England to signify a country mansion.

to Saint Anthony of Egypt. The friars who dwelt there were simple men, ignorant of letters, but if they were unable to expound the law, they proved every day by their manner of life that they knew how to observe it. They used to come into town to beg, according to their Constitutions, and often went to Saint Cross for broken victuals, and so Saint Anthony, who was at that time Almoner, made their acquaintance, and one day, whilst he was chatting with them, as he always did, dropping his voice he uttered these words in very solemn fashion, "I should be nothing loth to join your Order if you would make a compact with me to send me to Morocco, for I have it in my mind to emulate your martyrs." Such words from such a man rejoiced them not a little; they at once gave the required promise, and lest haply the Man of God should change his mind, arranged to return on the following day to invest him; and then they went home to their little place happy that they had done a good day's business, and as for Saint Anthony he sought out his Prior and in the end succeeded in wringing from him a most reluctant licence; and on the morrow those friars returned and there in the Priory of Saint Cross arrayed him in the livery of Saint Francis. But one of his comrades, when he saw him departing, in the bitterness of his heart cried

out : " Go forth, Go forth, and win a martyr's laurels." To whom Saint Anthony : " In that case you, I know, would be the first to bless God for it."

It is not to be wondered at that this man should have been irritated and distressed when he saw his friend go forth in the tattered garb of a Franciscan. Indeed, one asks oneself how it was that the Prior and his Canons should ever have consented to such, on the face of it, a preposterous proceeding, and that they should have actually suffered the investiture to take place, if not in the Priory Church, at all events within the precincts of their domain. For Saint Anthony, be it borne in mind, was a member of an old and highly accredited religious Order, and the Order which he now joined, if indeed it can at this time be called an Order, had no title-deeds, nay it was not yet organized. It consisted of several thousand members of every rank and calling in life, clerks and layfolk, monks and married men, every sort of person. There was no novitiate, there were no vows—new members were received without any kind of preparation and they were free at will to return to the World. This heterogeneous gang had been kept together by the magnetic influence of the Seraphic Patriarch's personality. But in the summer of 1218 he went

to the East to convert Moslems, and his children, left to their own devices, at once began to quarrel, and when he had been absent for nearly two years and no news had been received of him and rumour had it that he was dead, the strife grew fiercer, and if he had not hastened home when he did, in the early summer of 1220, just about the time when Saint Anthony became a Franciscan, called back by a secret messenger and warned by a wise woman that his Order was breaking up, he would surely have been too late to avert an irreparable catastrophe.

Though he was broken in health and half blind, without any gift for organization, prone to be pulled this way and that by those who chanced to be about him, such was the courage, such the zeal, so sweet the charity of this extraordinary man that he was able in a very short while to set his house in order; he persuaded the Vicar of Christ to take it under his wing and to seal it with the seal of his Apostolic approbation, and though he died on the 4th of October, 1226, he had lived long enough to see it what it has been ever since—one of the chief glories of the one Divine Church.

Maybe it was because Saint Anthony was destined by Jesus Christ to be the help and stay of Saint Francis in the taming of his wild sheep

that the Canons of Saint Cross permitted him, in spite of their better judgement, to join a society without papers which must at that time have seemed to them to be on the edge of dissolution.

A Domino factum est istud : et est mirabile in oculis nostris.

CHAPTER III

CHAPTER III

Of the Saint's alleged change of name on joining the Franciscan Order. How he went to Morocco and, falling sick, set sail for home, but, thwarted by contrary winds, found himself at Messina, where he fell in with a company of friars and journeyed with them to Assisi to attend a General Chapter that was about to meet there, the General Chapter, seemingly, of 1221. Jordan of Giano's account of this extraordinary assembly.

SAINT ANTHONY'S first biographer says that he changed his name from Ferdinand to Anthony when he joined the Franciscan Order : he feared lest his kinsmen should endeavour to carry him off by force, and so took a new name, thinking thereby to hoodwink anyone who should come to the Olive Ground to seek him. This statement is contradicted with confidence by a critic of early date : a Franciscan, seemingly of Padua, name unknown, who wrote some notes on the " Primitive Legend " certainly before the close of the twelve hundreds and perhaps not long after the Saint's decease.¹ " Although," he says, " it is

¹ These notes are to be found in a MS. of the second half of the thirteen hundreds in the *Biblioteca Antoniana* at Padua, No. 74. It contains amongst other things the

quite true that the blessed man took measures to frustrate a possible incursion of his kin, a

Primitive Life of Saint Anthony with certain passages cut out and the notes in question substituted. It is evident that the author of these notes never intended them to be placed in this position, for they do not fit in with the text of the legend and also to be intelligible they must be read not in place of the passages cut out but with them. For example the first of the suppressed passages runs thus: *Verum, quia irruentium in se parentum suorum impetum Dei servus formidabat, requirentium eum sollicitudinem sagacius declinare satagebat. Nam, et mutato vocabulo, Antonius ipse sibi nomen imposuit et quantus verbi Dei praeco futurus esset quodam praesagio designavit*, and the passage in place of it thus: *Licet enim beatus pater Antonius irruentium in se parentum et turbarum impetum satageret declinare, nequaquam propter hoc fratres sibi Antonius nomen imposuerunt; sed quia ecclesia fratrum illius loci tali titulo nominabatur, ideo de simplici fratrum voluntate et etiam divino revelante Spiritu, id nobile nomen, quasi alte tonaturus, sibi credimus fuisse impositum.*

How did it come about that these notes were placed where we now find them? This, I suspect, is what happened. They were originally marginal notes. Their author wrote them on the margin of an authentic copy of the Primitive Legend against the passages which they contradict, and some transcriber who had before him this annotated copy, and who, although he could read and write Latin, did not understand it, believing the notes to be correct, inserted them just as they were in his own copy instead of the passages contradicted.

When were these notes made? We find them in substance in a Legend of Saint Anthony written by Pietro Raimondino, a professor of Padua and afterwards Provincial of Aquitaine, in 1293 or very soon afterwards. This Legend is to be found in MS. 74 above said, and in 1883 it was edited together with the Primitive Life as contained in the same MS. by Padre Josa O.M.C., who at that time was Curator of the *Biblioteca Antoniana*.

change of name was not one of them : the noble name Anthony was given to him by the friars of the place on their own initiative because their church was dedicated to Saint Anthony of Egypt." Be this as it may, that the Saint's baptismal name was Ferdinand there is no reason to doubt, and it is certain that during the latter years of his life, at all events, he was commonly called Brother Anthony.

The friars of the Olive Ground were not very eager to suffer their new recruit to put his head into the jaws of the lion, but, because of their promise and because he was so persistent, at last they let him have his way, and so to Morocco he went. But the Most High who knoweth what things are for the good of men withstood him to the face. Hardly had he touched African soil when he was laid low with ague, and the hand of the Lord was very heavy on him all that winter, and then he knew that his project, which had in no way prospered, was not in accordance with God's will. To go back to Portugal having accomplished nothing, to confess to his brethren that he had failed : bitter disappointment, cruel humiliation. But he saw no other road, and in the first days of spring he said, "*Fiat voluntas tua*," and set his haggard face homewards ; yet deep down in his heart there was this crumb of conso-

lation, the air of his native land would give him back his health. But it was not God's plan that he should ever again return to his native land.

The ship on which he embarked for Spain was driven by contrary winds to Sicily and in the town of Messina he fell in with a company of friars who were on the point of starting for Assisi to attend a great Chapter of the Order that was soon to be held there : with these travelling companions then he set out and reached the city of Saint Francis in time for the opening Session.

This Chapter is generally supposed to be the Whitsun Chapter of 1221 which Jordan of Giano describes so graphically in his delightful Chronicle.¹

It was held on a patch of open ground in the forest which at that time covered the great plain of Spoleto, close to Saint Francis's favourite abode, his little portion as he used to call it, and just under the town of Assisi which sits on a spur of Mount Subasio, five hundred feet above the plain.

The Chapter was opened with High Mass on the morning of Whit-Sunday, and some three thousand friars took part in it. They were lodged in wattle huts such as those in which

¹ *Chronica fratris Jordani a Jano*, No. 16, *Analecta franciscana*, t. I, p. 6.

shepherds still lodge when, in winter time and the gnats are dead, they venture to pasture their flocks in the vale of the Tiber. Thirteen great tables were set up in the open, and at these the friars fed, nor had they any reason to quarrel with their rations, for the men of Assisi provided for them so lavishly that, when after six days the business of the Chapter was finished, such an abundance of meat and drink remained that the sons of Saint Francis, who hated waste, decided not to disperse until they had consumed the remnants, and it took them three days to do so. All this, and much more, honest Jordan relates, but he does not say that Saint Anthony was in that crowd of hungry mendicants. In all probability he was not aware of it, or even at that time that such a man existed, for the Saint was a new-comer, a stranger in a strange land, he knew nobody and nobody knew him, and Jordan, too, had only just put on the cord and frock—a raw youth from the little village of Giano in a pass of the Umbrian hills, south of Monte Feltro, and very loquacious about himself and his own affairs. It is not surprising, then, that he does not speak of Saint Anthony, but this I think is curious :—When all the business was finished and the friars were thinking of home, so Jordan tells us, it suddenly flashed across the mind of Blessed

Francis that no provision had been made for establishing the Order in Germany, whither missionaries had already been sent who had fallen foul of the ecclesiastical authorities and been driven out of the land, for they were without papers, and when they were asked whether they were heretics, being ignorant, all of them, of the German language, had made answer, we are. But Saint Francis was no longer the man he had been, for years Brother Ass had been beaten and overworked and underfed, and ill usage was beginning to tell. He had sung the Gospel at the opening Mass, preached the opening sermon, harangued the crowd at length, presided over the meetings of the brethren for six days in succession and he had now neither the voice nor the strength to tell them what was in his mind : he sank down by his Vicar's side and, plucking him by the sleeve, bade him be his spokesman ; and Brother Elias bending over the sick man, listened to what he whispered in his ear ; and then, drawing himself upright, repeated it in a loud voice to the others, and so he delivered the whole discourse, sentence by sentence, and before each sentence he cried out, " Brethren, thus saith the Brother," because, as Jordan takes care to explain, for everyone of them Blessed Francis was the brother *per excellentiam*.

“ There is a land,” Elias said, “ called Germany, the folk that dwell there are Christians, righteous men and devout. We often see them in our parts on pilgrimage to the tombs of the Apostles with long staves in their hands and great flaming torches, singing the praises of God as they go and sweating in the sun. But for all that our people were so evilly entreated in Germany that they were forced to come home again before they had accomplished anything.

“ Wherefore,” the brother says, “ he will not compel any man to go there, but to such as desire, from the love of God and zeal for souls, to undertake this mission, he will give the same letters of obedience as to them that go into Moslem parts, aye and in ampler form.” “ Whereat,” says Jordan, “ some ninety brethren eager for the Crown of Martyrdom offered themselves for death.” The mission was placed under the leadership of Cæsar of Spires, who was himself a German, a graduate of the University of Paris and a man of considerable ability. Armed with proper passports, as the friars now were, they were welcomed with open arms by the rulers of the Church in Germany; many Germans soon joined them and in a little while this province became, what it has ever since continued to be, amongst the best organized, most intel-

lectual and efficient provinces of the Franciscan Order.

But though there was in reality no danger, it is evident that Jordan and his comrades believed that all who took part in this undertaking were carrying their lives in their hands, and some have asked themselves how it was that Saint Anthony was not among the first to offer himself for death.

Perhaps the Saint, who had been born and bred in a great town and who had passed ten years of his life at least in an old established and cultured Order whose members were not unacquainted with the usages of civilized men, was by no means so firmly convinced as were friend Jordan and his companions that to pay a visit to Germany was tantamount to martyrdom. Perhaps he had in his mind after what had befallen him in Morocco some such Franciscan thought as that which Saint Peter of Alcantara many years afterwards put into writing in that wonderful book of his, "*Pax Animae*":—"Make not for thyself crosses out of thine own head; but rather let Christ dispose of thee to suffer for Him what and how He pleaseth. Prefer not this to that, and if thou needst must, let it be in such wise that if not this but the contrary were to happen thou wouldst feel no sorrow but equal content. Do not that which thou hast a mind

to ; but let Christ do in thee what He hath a mind to. Let Christ make choice of thee for His workman : and do thou sit still in holy idleness and wait for Him to hire thee."

Perhaps, again, Saint Anthony was not present at the Chapter which gossiping Jordan depicts ; for although all writers on things Franciscan, at all events since Wadding's time, have taken it for granted that such was the case, it seems to me just possible that Saint Anthony's Chapter was the Chapter of 1222.

CHAPTER IV

CHAPTER IV

The "Primitive" writer's statement concerning what befell the Saint at the assembly described in the preceding chapter, and how he took up his abode in the hermitage of Monte Paola by Bologna and remained there until in the end his superiors, becoming aware that he was a man of unusual learning with a wonderful facility of speech, sent him into the world to hammer heretics. Various alleged inaccuracies in the statement above-said contradicted with confidence by a thirteenth-century critic.

WHEN the Chapter was over and the various Superiors who had taken part in it had sent to their respective homes the brethren who had been confided to them, Saint Anthony alone was left on the hands of the Minister General. For, being a new-comer, these Superiors were not acquainted with him, and thinking that most likely he would be of little use to them, none of them had asked for him. At last, signalling out Brother Gratian, Provincial of Romagna, he drew him aside, and besought him to take him with him to his province, if the Minister General would suffer it, and instruct him in the rudiments of the religious life. He kept silence concerning his literary attainments, he

did not boast of the ecclesiastical appointments he had formerly held, but with much earnestness professed that he desired to know Christ only, and Him Crucified. And Gratian, wondering at the enthusiasm of the man, fell in with his proposal, and so together they trudged to Romagna, and when they had arrived there Brother Anthony sought and obtained leave to live away from the turmoil of the world in the hermitage of Monte Paola, about three miles beyond the walls of Bologna in the direction of Forlì. In the early days of his sojourn there, one of the brethren constructed a cell in a cave not far from the hermitage, and this cell so pleased the Saint that he let that brother have no peace until he had ceded it to him. Thither he used to go every morning after Chapter, carrying with him a jug of water and a loaf of bread, and there he remained in prayer and meditation until the bell for Compline rang, when he always returned to the hermitage according to the Rule. Thus he made the flesh subservient to the spirit; and more than once it happened that, when the day was ended, so enfeebled was he by mortification that his limbs refused to carry him and he had to be carried home by his comrades.

When he had lived in this hermitage for a very long time there was an ordination in the city of Forlì and certain Dominicans went there to be

ordained and some of our people, amongst them the men of Monte Paola, and Brother Anthony accompanied them. At the luncheon after the ordination the Minister of the place invited the Dominicans to address the company, and when they all excused themselves saying that they were not accustomed to speak on the spur of the moment, turning to Anthony he asked him to propose a toast, for he knew that he could speak Latin, for he himself had heard him from time to time converse in that tongue. But he was not aware that he was a student, indeed he was under the impression that he had never read anything except perhaps what pertained to his sacred profession. Very loth was the Saint to open his mouth, but all that goodly company kept clamouring for a speech, and in the end he gave tongue and in such fashion as to compel notice. For the speech was well put together, the subject profound, the language simple, concise, clear. The audience sat, with ears pricked up and eyes staring at him, astounded at his learning and eloquence, and at his sweetness and self-effacement. But the most surprised of all were the men of Monte Paola who, because he had never bragged of his abilities, had taken it into their silly heads that he was only fit to scrape saucepans. The echo of that discourse soon reached the ears of the Minister General, and

he bade him come forth from his hermitage and call the world to Christ.

This extraordinary statement is contradicted with assurance by the thirteenth-century Franciscan critic above referred to. This is what he says :—

“ Saint Anthony never asked Brother Gratian to take him to Romagna, being new to the Order he was not acquainted with any of the Superiors, did not even know the difference between a Minister Provincial and a Warden, or a Warden and a Guardian. What really happened was this. Saint Anthony, who had sat alone all day in holy idleness waiting for the Lord of the Vineyard to hire him, was accosted at last by Brother Gratian, inspired as I verily believe by the Holy Ghost. ‘ Are you a priest ? ’ he said, and Saint Anthony, without any beating about the bush, made answer, ‘ I am.’ Whereat Gratian, because of the dearth of priests in his province, besought the Minister General, Brother Elias, to give him Saint Anthony, and Elias granted his request. That was how it was that the Saint went to Romagna.

“ Moreover, although it is true that soon after his arrival he went to live in the hermitage of Monte Paola, it is not true that he asked to be sent there : he never did anything of the kind. Being utterly unacquainted with the organization of our Order, he was not even aware that any of us lived

as hermits. The hermitage of Monte Paola was at that time occupied by six brethren, who were all of them laymen, and when they heard that the Saint was a priest and that he was a straight man and of good morals, they begged the Provincial Minister to make him their chaplain and Gratian acquiesced.

“Again, although he went every day to that cave for prayer and meditation, he never took a jug of water with him, nor yet a loaf, but always, when the bell for meals sounded, returned to the monastery and ate with the rest. And when he had been there a little time and had begun to be acquainted with the ways of the place, he perceived that all of the brethren, from the Superior to the least, in addition to their spiritual duties, busied themselves every day with manual labour, and reproaching himself as one who was eating the bread of idleness, and who instead of serving was being served, he went to the Guardian of the place and obtained his permission to scrub the floors and wash the dishes, and this work he always did every morning with very great care, and when it was finished he went to his cave to meditate as heretofore, and henceforth he was able to eat with a better conscience.

“That is the origin of the story that the men of Monte Paolo made their chaplain scrub saucepans.”

CHAPTER V

CHAPTER V

Of Saint Anthony's successful missionary tour in the province of Romagna. How at Rimini, by the river Marecchia, he preached to the fishes. Of certain miracles attributed to him, but not by his contemporary biographers. Julian's testimony concerning Saint Anthony and miracles, and the testimony of Raimondino.

ROMAGNA was the scene of Saint Anthony's first preaching tour, which region, like all Northern Italy, was at this time infested by heretics who regarded the Sacraments as vain inventions and the priesthood as a sham. They were superior persons who scorned others and thanked God every day that they were not as the rest of mankind. Serious men, "apostles of earnestness"—their enemies said of sourness—who abhorred laughter and every token of mirth and would never taste wine or other strong drink because alcohol was of Satan's brewing, and they were called Cathari—Puritans. How history repeats itself! Such were the stiff-necked men of principle whom Saint Anthony was now bidden to bring under the sweet and genial yoke of the Divine Child.

We have hardly any reliable information

concerning the incidents of this mission: Saint Anthony's contemporary biographers content themselves with generalities. He traversed the country from north to south, and from east to west, there was not a city, town, village or hamlet in which he did not preach. Only one place is specified: Rimini, which city, they tell us, was a stronghold of Puritanism. Here Saint Anthony summoned all the citizens to a conference, and in the end he succeeded in reconciling a great crowd of them, amongst whom one of their chief leaders, a man called Bononillo, who had persisted in "heretical pravity" for thirty years, and who now did penance, and henceforth to the end was an obedient son of the Holy Roman Church—*Sancte Ecclesie Romane*.

According to Bartholomew of Pisa in his book of "Conformities," which he wrote about 1385, Bononillo was the man whom Saint Anthony convinced of the truth of the doctrine of the Real Presence by miraculously making his (Bononillo's) horse adore the Sacred Host in the city of Rimini. But though Bartholomew is the first to identify the heretic and the place where the incident occurred, this legend, famous in art, was current, though in less fantastic form, long before Bartholomew's day: the Franciscan John Rigaldus, whom Pope John XXII named Bishop of

Tréguier in 1317, relates it in his "Life of Saint Anthony," which was written at latest in the early years of the thirteen hundreds.

It was at Rimini, too, by the river Marecchia, that Saint Anthony preached his famous sermon to the fishes according to several late writers—the author of the "Liber Miraculorum," the author of the "Fioretti," Sicco Polentone and others—and also to a local tradition; and a chapel beside the river that was built in 1559 is said to mark the exact spot where the incident occurred; but Rigaldus says that the sermon was preached near Padua, and in the earliest account we have of it (that contained in the "Florentine Legend") no place is mentioned and note this, the miraculous element, enters into it hardly at all. It runs thus:—

"When Saint Anthony was preaching beside a river to heretics who derided him, in distress he turned to the river and cried out: 'O ye little fishes I have a message for you from Christ.' And the fishes came at his call, and remained with their heads out of the water until he had finished speaking to them and had given them his blessing, and then they swam away."

Saint Anthony's contemporary biographers knew nothing of these pleasant stories, nor of any of the *ante mortem* miracles which later writers attribute to him—marvels, marvellous indeed,

which read, some of them, like fairy tales. This, for example, which is one of the strangest, and strangely enough one of the first committed to writing :—

When some hospitable heretics who had invited the Saint to dinner offered him a bloated toad saying, “ Eat what is set before thee according to the Gospel,” he was in no way disconcerted, but in the twinkling of an eye changed it into a fat capon.

According to Saint Anthony’s first biographers all the wonders occurred after his decease ; and note, of the long list of miracles approved by the Holy See and read out solemnly to the people in the cathedral church of Spoleto on the day of his canonization—according to Julian no less than forty-six—only one was an *ante mortem* miracle, and perhaps that one was not on the original list. At all events the author of the “ *Dialogus Legend*,” who appends to his legend what purports to be the original list (and which, indeed, in the version which has come down to us contains the miracle in question), prefaces the list with these words :—

“ Of the many and great tokens of holiness attributed to Anthony far and wide by common report I will say nothing, but with no faltering tongue will I proclaim the wonders worked at Padua *after his decease*, for these, after a most searching

scrutiny undertaken by the venerable Bishop of Padua and the Prior of the Dominicans and the Prior of the Benedictines of the same city commissioned thereto by the Pope, were approved by the Holy See."

The earliest version we have of this one *ante mortem* miracle is to be found in the list of canonization miracles appended to the "Primitive Legend," which list differs to a certain extent from the "Dialogus" list. It runs thus:—

"Peter, a citizen of Padua, had a daughter, Paduana, who when she was four years old could only crawl on her hands and knees, and even so often rolled over, because, *as it was said*, she was epileptic.

"Blessed Anthony, walking one day in Padua, chanced to meet this man with Paduana in his arms, and when he begged him to bless her, Anthony, seeing his faith, signed her with the cross.

"As soon as Pietro had reached home he set the child on her feet and placed a chair before her, which soon she began to push. Presently, when her legs grew stronger, he gave her a stick instead of the chair, and in the end, through the merits of Blessed Anthony, she was able to walk without any support at all, nor did she henceforth from the day on which he had signed her show any sign of epilepsy."

The next version is to be found in the list of canonization miracles appended to the "Dialogus Legend" which was written in 1245. It differs from the first version only in this: the incident of the stick is omitted, and the cure which the "Primitive" writer represents as gradual is here said to have been effected in a little while—*in brevi*.

Half a century afterwards, or perhaps three-quarters, the unknown author of the legend called "Benignitas," a series of notes on the "Primitive Legend," deemed it for the greater glory of Saint Anthony to relate the history of the healing of Paduana in a very different way. Whereas the "Primitive" writer and the "Dialogus" writer content themselves by saying that Paduana was *said to be* epileptic, this writer affirms boldly that she *was* epileptic, and adds that by reason of her disease she not unfrequently fell over and, rolling on the ground and foaming at the mouth, bruised herself most pitiably. For the rest, he tells his story as it had been told by his predecessors, until the incident of Saint Anthony's blessing, and what followed he thus relates:—

"The Saint, perceiving the devout parent's faith, signed the child with the sign of the cross from the crown of her head to the sole of her feet, and immediately she was made whole."

Thus do legends grow.

Was this incident in reality a miracle or only a fortuitous coincidence? Julian von Speier, a contemporary of Saint Anthony and the author of his "Office," says in the lessons of the "Office," which were inserted in the Roman Breviary and remained there until the time of the Reform of Saint Pius V :—

" Since it is impossible to set forth briefly how brightly Blessed Anthony shone in the exercise of all the virtues, I will content myself by discoursing only of his pre-eminence in the practice of one of them : a virtue which cannot be feigned, a virtue mightier than miracles (by which, in truth, in this life many are most fallaciously deceived) :—moral courage—how he proclaimed the truth to all without fear or favour. This virtue flared up in him in the eyes of the whole world. Overflowing with sound doctrine, to every man he awarded the pound of justice that was his due. Gentle and simple alike he pierced with the javelin of plain speech. For this Saint, who in former days had thirsted for the chalice of suffering with such a greedy heart, was not to be deterred by the lofty estate of any man, nor yet by the fear of death, but with admirable courage resisted the tyranny of princes. And, indeed, with such severity did he rebuke certain reprehensible potentates that some

other preachers who were present, aye and famous preachers too, trembled at the intrepid constancy of the man, and, suffused with shame and confusion, hid their glowing faces in their handkerchiefs or their sleeves and wished they were anywhere else rather than where they were."

Julian's exact words run thus :—

Sed haec omnia quam excellenter claruerint, quoniam per singula breviter explicare non possum ; tanquam saltem succincte, quomodo cunctis aequaliter annuntiaverit veritatem. Haec sequidem virtus in ipso claruit in oculis omnium, quae quidem miraculis potior, quibus plurimi in vita fallaciter decipiuntur. Sic itaque sanctus, etc.

In another part of his Legend he says : " *Multiplex post mortem miraculorum claritas necessaria conclusione confirmat (vocationem).*"

So too Raimondino of Padua about fifty years afterwards : " *Licet enim sanctus iste (Antonius) nondum miraculis corporalibus ubique coruscaret, potioribus tamen indiciis clarificabat Domini majestatem.*"

Which proves that at Padua at all events they still held to the old tradition—that the Saint in his lifetime had little renown as a worker of miracles—when Raimondino wrote, a fact the more extraordinary because at this time the "Florentine Legend" above-noted had already

been in circulation for five-and-twenty years. Raimondino, so far as I am aware, is the last mediæval writer who maintains that Saint Anthony in his lifetime was not a famous miracle worker.

CHAPTER VI



CHAPTER VI

How Saint Anthony went to Rome on business of the Order, commissioned thereto not by Minister General Parenti in 1230, as has been alleged, but by Vicar General Elias in 1223. Reasons for thinking that Saint Anthony accompanied Saint Francis upon this occasion, acting as his secretary, body-servant and general attendant. Of the note in the "Legend Benignitas" concerning Saint Anthony's visit to Rome, and some observations concerning his sojourn in France.

SAINT ANTHONY'S contemporary biographers tell us very little concerning him after his mission to Romagna until the summer of 1230, a period of seven or eight years, and they all of them give the same reason, which, though some critics have doubted it, I think was, in the main, the true reason, for their reticence—lack of space. For consider. The first and the second legend were each of them written for a set of lessons, and the "Dialogus Legend" forms part of and was written for a volume of brief dialogue-lives of Franciscan saints. Now in making works of this kind it is necessary to curtail and to compress.

The following is what we learn from these writers.

After these things, says the " Primitive " writer—that is, after Saint Anthony had ended his missionary tour in the province of Romagna—the Minister of the Order dispatched him to the Papal Court on business of the Order, where God disposed the venerable princes of the Church to receive him very graciously. The Supreme Pontiff himself and the whole college of Cardinals attended his sermons with much devotion, and so impressed were they by his eloquence and by the depth and the breadth of his knowledge of Holy Writ that at a private audience accorded to him as a special mark of favour the Vicar of Christ addressed him as Ark of the Covenant.

If Saint Anthony had not preached to the venerable princes of the Church, and if the Pope had not called him *Arca testamenti*, it would never have entered into the head of this writer, so chary of facts and so lavish of phrases, whose chief pre-occupation seems to have been the glorification of preaching, to mention Saint Anthony's visit to the Papal Court.

No less reticent is the author of the " Dialogus Legend," and, as for Julian, he only adds to our information an anecdote concerning a sermon preached at Arles. But of this later.

Who was " the Minister of the Order " referred to in the above quotation, and what was the date of Saint Anthony's diplomatic errand ?

Most modern writers point to General John Parenti because, soon after Whitsuntide, in the year 1230, Parenti headed a deputation to Pope Gregory IX from the brethren sitting at Assisi in General Chapter to petition him to explain the rule (this we learn from one of Gregory's own letters) and Saint Anthony, according to Thomas of Eccleston, was a member of that deputation.

Thomas is not a good witness, but it is possible, nay, I think probable, that in this case he is right. But even so the visit to the Curia which he speaks of cannot have been the visit referred to by the "Primitive" writer, for the "Primitive" writer says that Saint Anthony went to Court, not in company with the Minister of the Order and at the behest of the brethren, but as the representative of the Minister of the Order and at his behest.

Besides Whitsuntide 1230 is too remote from the mission to Romagna ; for when a man, recounting a series of events, having recounted the first, says, after that so and so happened, he does not as a rule mean seven or eight years afterwards, but immediately afterwards, or at all events not long afterwards. Now the mission to Romagna was brought to a close at latest in 1223. I think, then, that the man whom the "Primitive" writer had in his mind when he wrote :—*Post haec autem, quum, urgente familiari causa, minister ordinis servum Dei Antonium ad curiam destinasset,*

etc., was not John Parenti but Elias of Cortona, who was acting Minister General from 1221 to 1227, and that he sent Saint Anthony to the Papal Court in the year 1223 ; and at Whitsuntide or very soon afterwards because appointments were generally made at General Chapters, and on Whitsunday in the year 1223 a General Chapter we know assembled at Assisi.

Now consider these things :—

On the 28th of September, 1230, Pope Gregory IX addressed a letter to the Minister General and other members of the Order of Minors and in the preamble to that letter he informs us, together with many other interesting things which do not concern us here but which we shall have to consider later, that he himself in the days when he was Cardinal Ugolino had not only helped Saint Francis to write the Rule of the Order, but had stood at his side to help him throughout the whole of the negotiations which had preceded its confirmation by the Apostolic See.

When was Saint Francis at the Papal Court working with the help of Ugolino for the confirmation of his rule ? Before the 29th of November, 1223, certainly, for on that day Honorius III confirmed it. But we can get a little nearer I think to the exact date :—The rule confirmed by Honorius, which was the last Rule that Saint

Francis wrote and is still the rule of the Order, superseded a rule composed in 1221 and which at that time there can be no doubt Saint Francis intended to be final, for the text has come down to us and the last clause runs thus :—

“ In the name of God Omnipotent, and of the Lord Pope and by obedience I, Brother Francis, command and strictly enjoin that no man shall add to or take away from the things which are written in this Form of Life and that the brethren shall have no other rule.”

But some of the brethren were not happy under the new rule for their wings were clipped, their tongues tied, their backs blistered by burthens that they had never undertaken to carry and besides, they said, it was not in accordance with Saint Francis's original ideals ; and so these men determined to bring back the glorious days when every friar was a knight-errant, free to wander at will and to do what seemed good in his own eyes.

Though none of them seem to have held any official position, some of the leaders were Saint Francis's personal attendants—men who through faithful service had won his regard. A noteworthy advantage this, because the Seraphic Order was not yet a democracy : the founder was in fact if not in theory an autocrat. “ General

Elias," says Jordan, "like John Parenti and Blessed Francis before him, had the Order in the hollow of his hand."

These trusty servants, then, in season and out of season kept pestering their master to cancel the new rule which, they said, if it were maintained would ruin the Order, and every day they brought home some fresh tale of the tyranny of Superiors or told him of some fresh plot for the enslavement of the brethren which rumour said they were hatching.

And, on the other hand, the administrators, with Elias at their head—the man on whose judgment Saint Francis relied—with fear in their voices, kept crying out, "Stand fast." For these men knew from experience what he now knew, to his deep distress: his original plan had failed, the Order had outgrown the rule, "the short form of life in simple words that he had written in the beginning for the guidance of himself and twelve chosen disciples" was wholly inadequate for the taming of a rabblement of ten thousand.

Thus was Saint Francis—a blind man, sick, feeling his way to the grave—set between two fires. And note, this controversy concerning the making of the rule was the beginning of the famous conflict between the Spiritual Brethren,

as the recalcitrants later on called themselves, the bigots, as others called them—and the Brethren of Common Observance. It continued for over a hundred years, and from first to last was carried on by both sides with extraordinary enthusiasm.

Saint Francis was at his wits' end—torn this way and that. His heart was with the recalcitrants, his head with the men of progress; but he was not quite sure whether these wise men were sound on the poverty question, and he knew that the recalcitrants were as staunch as he himself was in their allegiance to the ragged Queen, and he knew too that they were at heart rebels, eaten up with spiritual pride, wanderers beyond obedience. Saint Francis was on the horns of a dilemma.

It was probably about this time that he wrote the following letter addressed to "all the brethren," a letter of which the authenticity has never been contested:—"I entreat my Lord the Vicar General (Elias of Cortona) to see to it that the rule be observed inviolably by all . . . and if any man will not observe it, him I do not hold to be a Catholic or my brother, nor do I wish to speak with him, or to see him until he shall have done penance. I say this, too, of all those who, setting aside the discipline of the rule, go wandering about; for Our Lord Jesus Christ

gave His life that He might not lose the obedience of His Most Holy Father."

One morning soon after Saint Francis's return from the East, Honorius III, coming forth from the Lateran, descried the Man of Assisi amid the crowd of mendicants that always haunted the palace gates. "What, Friend Francis," said the Supreme Pontiff, "you amongst my beggars?" "Even so, Lord Pope," replied that Prince of Beggars. "Give me a man to whom I can carry all my worries instead of worrying you, one who shall be to me as your second self." "Name your man," said Honorius, and Francis, "My friend Ugolino." Thus it came about that Ugolino dei Conti, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia and the Pope's right hand, became Protector Director and Corrector of the Franciscan religion.

To this man, then, in his bewilderment Saint Francis now turned. Nor was it beyond the capacity of Ugolino's keen and subtle brain to straighten out affairs. This extraordinary man, who was heart and soul with the party of reform, gave the Order a rule so cunningly devised that the recalcitrants accepted it. And what is more, though immediately after Saint Francis's death the strife broke out more furiously than ever and raged intermittently for over a hundred years, it never entered into anyone's head to change

it. Henceforth the bone of contention was the meaning which the Seraphic Founder had attached to those mysterious clauses and, as I have already said, the rule still endures. It would be inconvenient to go into full details here, but this much had to be said, and it is necessary to add this. By Ugolino's advice Saint Francis summoned a General Chapter to consider the situation, that Chapter assembled at Assisi at Whitsuntide, in the year 1223, and Ugolino himself presided, and immediately afterwards he carried his poor friend far from the whirl and blare of contending factions, and in the quietude of his own Roman palace together they wrote a new rule.

Saint Francis, then, went to Rome at Whitsuntide in the year 1223, that is to say, at the same time that Saint Anthony went there.

And now, I think, with the help of Salimbene, we shall be able to discover how it was that these two saints traversed at the same time the long and beautiful road which leads from Assisi, through the forest of Spoleto and the wilderness of the vale of the Tiber, to the city of Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

O felix Roma, quae tantorum principum
Es purpurata pretioso sanguine :
Non laude tua, sed ipsorum meritis
Excellis omnem mundi pulchritudinem.

Salimbene, after chronicling the death in 1231 of our Most Blessed Father and Brother Anthony, adds, "*Hic fuit ex ordine Fratrum Minorum et socius beati Francisci.*" He was of the Order of Friars Minor and a *socius* (that is, in the language of the day, a helper, servant, general attendant in the widest possible sense) of Blessed Francis.

The founder was not alone in employing domestics of this sort, all his successors had one or more *socii* in constant attendance. John of Parma had no less than fourteen, all of them friends of Salimbene's, and a very remarkable set of men they must have been, if half that he says about them is true, but he adds, they were not all on duty at the same time—this general was always travelling and always travelled on foot, and as he was an exceedingly rapid walker very few men could keep up with him for many days together.

None of Saint Anthony's first biographers say that he was at any time the *socius* of Saint Francis, but it is not necessary, I think, to trouble ourselves about that, as it seems to have been the set purpose of these writers to keep Saint Anthony's secular activities as far as possible out of sight.

No doubt Salimbene embellished his good stories, which in my humble opinion—I speak

as one less wise—is not unlawful. He may have had only a bowing acquaintance with some of the great men with whom he says he was intimate; and surely his friends were not so well favoured nor his enemies quite such ugly fellows as he depicts them. But when he is dealing with simple straightforward facts, like this one concerning Saint Anthony, it would be hard to find a more reliable witness than this chattering friar.

Besides, his testimony in the present case is not without indirect confirmation. Celano says that it was Saint Francis's custom to speak of Saint Anthony as his Bishop. In the same fanciful and affectionate way he used to call Ugolino his Pope.¹ Julian tells us that when Saint Anthony was addressing a Chapter assembled at Arles in the days when Saint Francis was still in the flesh and at Assisi, one of the brethren present beheld his wraith hovering over Saint Anthony's head and making signs of approval. This anecdote is likewise related by Celano in his first "Legend of Saint Francis," which was written in Saint Anthony's lifetime, and also by

¹ Saint Francis's nicknames were not always so happily chosen: Brother Leo of Assisi, a mountain of flesh, was *La Pecorella di Dio*. The temptation was too great for poor Leo's enemies, of whom I fear there were not a few, and in their profanity they changed the appellation to *Il pecorone di Dio*.

Saint Bonaventure. Then there is the following letter, but I will not vouch for its authenticity :—
“ Brother Francis to his beloved Brother Anthony, health in Christ. I am well content that you should lecture to the brethren on theology provided that the spirit of prayer and contemplation be not quenched thereby, in accordance with the prescriptions of the rule.” There is no prescription whatever in the rule concerning studies, save this injunction in the 10th Chapter to eschew them :—“ If any man be ignorant of letters let him not seek to learn, but rather let him strive to possess that which surpasseth all things : Peace and the Divine Paraclete ” ; but the 5th Chapter contains the following passage, which is probably the passage referred to in the above letter : “ Let them to whom God shall have given the grace of being able to work, work loyally and devotedly, but in such fashion that whilst shutting out sloth, an enemy of the soul, they quench not the spirit of holy prayer and devotion, to which all temporal things should be subservient.” We now come to this question :—
When was Saint Anthony a member of the household of Saint Francis ?

Our knowledge of the chronology of Saint Anthony is exceedingly hazy and very far from being complete, but we are fairly well informed

of his movements and occupations from the time when he entered the Franciscan Order until the journey to Rome in 1223, and it does not seem possible that he can have been in Saint Francis's service at any time during this period. Again, Saint Francis died on the 4th of October, 1226, but long before that date, perhaps before the close of the year 1223, Saint Anthony went to France, and there is no evidence whatever to suggest that he returned to Italy before Saint Francis's death.

Now the two Saints, as we have seen, went to Rome soon after Whitsuntide in the year 1223 on business of the Order, and therefore, I think, it was during this journey to Rome and during their sojourn there that Saint Anthony was the *socius*—secretary, body-servant, confidential man—of the Seraphic Patriarch.

Obviously it was indispensable that Saint Francis in his present state of health should be accompanied by some servant, and obviously it was out of the question that he should take with him any of his ordinary domestics, all of whom were or, perhaps I ought to say, seem to have been—because the documents concerning the last years of Saint Francis's life are so tainted by the spirit of party that one cannot feel perfectly sure of the absolute accuracy of any of them—

all of whom, then, seem to have been active and eager Conservatives. If, for example, Saint Francis had had that irritant Brother Leo continually about him, would either he or Ugolino, both of them highly-strung and most excitable men, have been in a suitable frame of mind to write a rule of conciliation or, for the matter of that, any rule at all? (I can hear the venerable *porporato* muttering to himself—"The toad hath zeal, in truth, but not according to wisdom.") And even if by the grace of God they had managed to achieve the impossible, would the Provincial Ministers have been likely to touch the pie in which Leo had had a finger? They would have turned up their noses at it even if an angel had been chief cook.

What Saint Francis required at the present juncture was not an irritant but a sedative, and that was the reason, or one of the reasons, why Vicar-General Elias, no mean judge of men, sent sweet Saint Anthony with him. For Saint Anthony was by nature one of the kindest men that ever breathed, and by grace not easily provoked. He had built up his palace of supernatural virtues on what, because it is God's own foundation, is the best possible of all foundations—the practice of the natural virtues. Child of an old and noble house, in his dealings with

his fellowmen he had tact and *savoir-vivre*—the manners and bearing of a gentleman. In the mill of a strict novitiate pride had been ground out of him. He had learnt the art of self-effacement and it was easy for him to obey. He was able to lead when he seemed to follow, to direct whilst others thought that they themselves were directing: for this Saint, harmless as the dove, was very largely endowed with the wisdom of the serpent, and no better choice could have been made for the delicate and difficult office that was now thrust upon him.

That inaccurate and unscrupulous writer, the unknown author of “Benignitas,” has the following note concerning Saint Anthony’s visit to Rome:—“Now it chanced at this time that the city was full of foreign pilgrims who had flocked there to gain the Easter indulgences, and when, by the Pope’s command, Blessed Anthony addressed them, as on the day of Pentecost in the case of the Apostles, the Grace of the Holy Ghost so endowed his tongue that every man present heard the discourse in his own language.”

Whence did our imaginative friend derive this information? From the working, most likely, of his own brain, pondering over this impressively incoherent passage in the first of the four sermons

on Saint Anthony by the Cistercian, Otho Bishop of Tusculum, who died in 1273 :—" Some utter their own fictions and their own inventions : not so Blessed Anthony. What was given him to speak, that he said, for he trusted in God's promise—Thy children shall be taught of the Lord—even as did the Apostles, concerning whom we read that all who heard them marvelled saying, Are not these men Galilæans, yet every man heareth them in his own mother tongue ? "

Julian and Celano are not the only contemporary writers who speak of Saint Anthony's stay in France. Pierre Coral, Abbot of Saint Martin's at Limoges in 1247, notes in his " Chronicle " (Bibliothèque nationale, MS. 5452) that in the year 1226 the Abbot of Saint Martin's ceded to Brother Anthony a place for the lodgement of the Friars Minor, and that the said Anthony was the first Franciscan who took up his abode in the city of Limoges.

This and what Julian and Celano say is all that is known for certain concerning Saint Anthony's stay in France. Later writers tell us very much more : Rigaldus (1293), Bartholomew of Pisa (1385), the author of the " Liber Miraculorum " (after 1367), etc. They speak of high offices worthily held, of miracles innumerable, of

sermons of surpassing eloquence. But the testimony of these men is very far from being beyond suspicion, and though some of the things they say may be true, it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to sift the wheat from the chaff.

CHAPTER VII

CHAPTER VII

UGOLINO

UGOLINO DEI CONTI DI SEGNA, nephew of Innocent III, intimate friend of Saint Francis and first official protector of the Franciscan Order, was in reality, as we know it, the founder of that Order.

In the days of Honorius III he was Cardinal Bishop of Ostia and Velletri and Honorius's chief counsellor, the man whom he relied on, his brain and his right hand, and when that pontiff died Cardinal Ugolino became Pope Gregorius IX.

Though at this time he was nearer eighty than seventy, he was still full of enthusiasm, fiery, restive, swift. He died in harness fourteen years afterwards, and to the end his body was vigorous and his mind young.

A little cynical, a little caustic, with much knowledge of the world, and never allowing zeal to outrun discretion, Ugolino dei Conti had a large heart and an open hand. He was a man of moods and emotions—easily moved to tears

and easily moved to laughter. Whether he praised or whether he blamed he was always in the superlative. By temperament devout, in all things he sought first the kingdom of Heaven and its righteousness, and from his youth upwards to the end led a clean life.

He was an exceedingly handsome man, with sharply cut features, tall and of dignified bearing, and his wonderful white beard was the joy of the pilgrims who visited the threshold of the Apostle. Moreover, he had wit and eloquence, was well versed in civil and common law, had a marvellous grip of memory and an extraordinarily subtle brain.

We learn from Thomas of Celano that when Ugolino was at Assisi for the General Chapter of 1223, over which, as we have seen, he himself had presided, he had the curiosity to inspect the friars' dormitories, accompanied by a great crowd of knights and clerks, "and when," says Brother Thomas, "he had examined their beds, which, in truth, resembled the lairs of wild beasts, he burst into tears and pointing to those wretched heaps of rags and straw cried out, 'See in what fashion these friars sleep, whilst we, miserable men that we are, wallow in superfluities.'"

Jordan depicts him in another mood. This eccentric individual, who was now Provincial

Minister of Germany, had journeyed to Rome in haste on business of the Order, and when he reached the Lateran he was informed that the Holy Father was in bed—Ugolino was now Pope. But his business brooked of no delay and Jordan was a man of resource, and presently he found himself in the Pope's bedchamber. Ugolino, furious at this intrusion on his privacy, in language none too civil bade the audacious friar begone. But Jordan, nothing daunted, rushed to the pontifical couch, seized the Supreme Pontiff by the leg, and smothering his foot with kisses cried out, "We have no such relics as these in Germany." Whereat Ugolino burst out laughing, listened patiently to his long story, and in the end fell in with his wishes.

The successor of St. Peter is to this day the most accessible sovereign in Christendom. The officials of his Court are still exceedingly easy-going; but I hardly think it would be possible now to take the Apostolic sleeping-apartment by storm.

Ugolino has been criticized by many and, in my opinion, most unjustly, for his treatment of Saint Francis. With great professions of affection, these critics say, he thwarted him at every turn as long as he was in the flesh, and when he was dead, never ceasing to pay him lip service,

he declared that his will was invalid, explained away the most cherished clauses of his rule, and dishonoured him by giving him a place of sepulture which he must have known very well Saint Francis would have abhorred.

Ugolino was an opportunist, of that I think there can be no doubt, but not in an evil sense. He did not meet difficulties half way. Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof was his motto—let the morrow take care for the things of itself. Ugolino's professions of friendship for Saint Francis were not feigned : he had a great admiration for him and a most sincere affection, and Saint Francis in his turn held Ugolino in very high esteem and loved him with his whole heart. Of these things, too, I think there can be no doubt.

Although he entirely approved of the re-organization of the Order and helped and encouraged Saint Francis to continue this difficult and delicate task—a task that was certainly most distasteful to the natural man in him—there is not a shred of evidence to prove, no reason whatever to suppose, that it was Ugolino who placed the burthen upon his shoulder, or that he put any pressure upon him at any time or used or attempted to use any undue influence over him.

We generally think of Saint Francis as a man of a dreamy and poetical temperament, a wonderful lover of nature and the wild things of nature, a very winning and loveable man, one endowed with a strange—almost uncanny—influence over his fellowmen and the brute creation ; and such indeed I believe he was, but other threads were interwoven in the complexion of Saint Francis which somehow or other we hardly ever call to mind. Before he renounced the world, as we know he was in business, and Celano tells us that he was a very good man of business, and a most successful man of business.

I think, then, that when he returned from Egypt and found his household at sixes and sevens Saint Francis was quite shrewd enough to see for himself that his machinery of government was not what it should be, and did not require either Ugolino or anyone else to inform him of the fact.

And now let us try to know something of what Ugolino did in respect to the rule of 1223.

This rule differs from the rule of 1221 in various ways, but the most noteworthy differences, and the only ones with which we need concern ourselves, are the following :—the penitential clauses are less rigid, the poverty clauses much more severe, and from the clause concerning the

reception of neophytes the injunction not to wander beyond obedience is obliterated.

This excision was made simply to save the faces of the Conservatives, and had no practical effect whatever. I can hear Ugolino saying to Saint Francis, "I am a little surprised, dear Brother, that one so shrewd as you should have ever thought of putting down this invidious clause in your rule: you knew very well that your spiritual friends would be sure to kick at it, and it was quite unnecessary. Why should you take the thorn out of the Pope's side and put it into your own?" On the 22nd of September, 1220, Honorius III had addressed a rescript to all Priors and Custodians of the Friars Minor, wherein he had enjoined amongst other things that no professed member of the Order should henceforth be free to leave the Order or to wander about in the livery of the Order beyond obedience, and had empowered the said Superiors to coerce by means of ecclesiastical censure all who should presume to do so. At whose request was this Rescript issued? Most likely at Saint Francis's own request, and maybe Ugolino himself had helped him to obtain it, but we cannot say for certain, because, though the registers of the pontifical letters of this period were fairly well kept, the *supplica* or letters of petition were

not preserved or, if they were, they have since disappeared.

Men seldom, if ever, act from single motives—scrutinize your own heart, reader—and in making these changes in all probability Ugolino had several. In the first place he wished to procure a little peace for his poor sick friend Saint Francis who already had one foot in the grave, and he was convinced that there was only one way of doing so—by giving the brethren a rule which all of them would accept. But love for Saint Francis was not the only reason which made him so anxious to write a rule acceptable to all, for he believed that if a considerable number of the brethren were dissatisfied with his work they would break away from the Order and in the end from the Church, and that would mean another new sect and the end of his dream : to make of the seraphic religion a mighty engine for the renovation of the Church.

The poverty clauses were strengthened partly to conciliate the Conservatives, who felt very strongly on the poverty question ; partly as a precaution against the men of progress, of whose loyalty to the Lady Poverty Saint Francis was not quite confident, and partly because the Cardinal Protector, as eager as Saint Francis himself that the Order should continue to be poor, deemed it

a measure most desirable. For this veteran who from his youth upwards had mixed with his fellowmen and been occupied with administration—this old man, I repeat, from his own long experience was well aware that if one wishes to make oneself heard it is sometimes necessary to shout, and that when a little is wanted the wise man will demand much, and also he knew very well that if the worst should come to the worst and these strict clauses in the issue prove with the best will in the world to be altogether impracticable, behind the rule there was always the Majesty of the Keys.

As for the mitigation of the penitential clauses, this, I think, was a sop for the men of progress, to encourage them to swallow the aggravated poverty clauses with a better grace.

It will be more convenient to consider Ugolino's action in respect to the Will and the Tomb in another chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

THE first of the two main branches of the theory of the mind is the theory of the mind as a system of ideas. This theory is based on the assumption that the mind is a system of ideas, and that the ideas are connected by certain laws. The second branch of the theory is the theory of the mind as a system of feelings. This theory is based on the assumption that the mind is a system of feelings, and that the feelings are connected by certain laws.

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CHAPTER VIII

Of the General Chapter of Assisi of 1230 which Saint Anthony attended. Of the extraordinary circumstances under which it was held, the chief questions debated, and the outcome of the discussion according to the testimony of Ugolino. A curious, interesting and inaccurate account of this Chapter by Thomas of Eccleston.

IN the month of May 1230 Saint Anthony was at Assisi, as we learn from the "Primitive" writer. This is what he says :—" At the General Chapter that met when the body of our most holy Father Francis was translated to the spot where it is now hallowed, the Minister General of the Order (John Parenti) divested God's servant Anthony of the administrative office which he at that time held, and gave him a general licence to preach."

Concerning this Chapter, the circumstances under which it assembled—extraordinary, the chief question debated—an exceedingly thorny one, and the outcome of the discussion—most important, we have contemporary evidence of the highest order—letters of Pope Gregory IX (Ugolino), who from first to last in this affair was very largely concerned.

That dignified cluster of buildings which forms

the west wing of Assisi, and which is commonly called the *Sacro Convento*—three churches piled up one above the other, a noble bell tower, a great fortress-like cloister containing within its precincts a pontifical palace, to say nothing of the Pilgrims' Arcade and the beautiful burial garth—owes its origin to Ugolino. It happened in this way.

At sundown on the 4th of October in the year 1226 Saint Francis went the way of all flesh. He died in his favourite hovel, the place which he called his little portion, and at the same moment, we are told, a joyous company of singing larks soared into the heavens as though to bid his blessed spirit God-speed.

On the morrow they carried his poor, wounded body—little more than skin and bone—up the hill through the Olive Grounds, past the cloister of Saint Damian, which is still standing, to Assisi, and laid it to rest for a while in the Chapel of Saint George, which stood just outside the east gate of the city, on a portion of the site now occupied by the great Memorial Church and nunnery of Saint Clare.

On the 18th of March, 1227, from this valley of disappointment, wherein he had travailed for over a hundred years,¹ Honorius III went forth; and on the day following Cardinal Ugolino became Pope Gregory IX.

¹ According to Salimbene.

On the 29th of March, 1228, Simone Puzarelli, citizen of Assisi, made over to Brother Elias—receiving for the Lord Pope Gregory IX—a piece of land on Hell Hill, without the west gate of the city, for ever, to the end that a cloister should be built thereon and an oratory or church for the most blessed body of Saint Francis (who had not yet been canonized, though his cause was making headway).

The deed of gift was executed in Puzarelli's house in the presence of the Lord Guido, communal judge of Assisi, and six other witnesses; and the original parchment, still legible and well preserved, is in the municipal library of Assisi.

Just a month afterwards—on the 29th of April—the Pope issued a circular letter by which he informed the world of Puzarelli's gift and that, as he deemed it expedient that everyone should have a hand in the making of the burial place of Blessed Francis of sweet recollection, by these presents he granted an abatement of forty days of the penances enjoined to them to all who should contribute to the building fund, or as we should now say (and with less precision) an indulgence of forty days.¹

This letter seems to have been not without effect, for in the course of the following summer

¹ *Recolentes, qualiter*. Dat. Romae III kal. maii anno primo. There is an original copy of this letter in the municipal library at Assisi.

Gregory began to build. When I was at Assisi, he writes to the Bishops of Perugia and Spoleto, when I was at Assisi for the canonization of Saint Francis, I laid the first stone of a church which I had decided to build there in his honour. Saint Francis was canonized in the summer of 1228, but the exact date is uncertain. Celano says *XVII Kal. Augusti*—July 16th: but already on the 9th of July (*VII Idus Julii*) Gregory had informed the French Bishops that the canonization had taken place. Was Celano mistaken, or did the Pope misdate his letter? In the summer of 1228, then, Gregory began to build, and in less than two years time the casket was ready for the jewel: for on the 22nd of April, 1230, we find him writing to the Minister of the Minorite Order and his brethren present and to come in the Church of Saint Francis by Assisi that he deemed it seemly that this church, built on land bestowed on himself and the Roman Church, should rejoice in a special prerogative of liberty and honour, and hence placed it under the joint protection of Saint Peter and himself so that it should be subject only to the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, declared it to be the Mother and Head of the whole Minorite Order, and that it should be served throughout all time by members of that Order.¹

¹ *Is, qui ecclesiam suam.* Dat. Laterani X kal. maii anno quarto.

Also, on the 16th of May following, Gregory, who was now in Rome, addressed a letter to the Master and Brethren of the Minorite Order assembled in General Chapter :—Let them walk, he said, in the way of Saint Francis, treasure in their hearts always the memory of Christ crucified, embrace the glory of humility, put on the impregnable armour of patience. Let them know how to obey, for obedience is the cardinal virtue of the religious life, and never fail to observe the rule which their Holy Founder had written for them ; and since they desired to translate his glorious body to the church to be dedicated to his name, to all who should devoutly attend the translation or visit the church at any time until the Nativity of the glorious Virgin next ensuing (Sept. 8th), he granted an abatement of the penances enjoined to them, viz. to those who had crossed the sea, three years ; to those who had come from beyond the Alps, two years ; and one year to the rest ; and also an abatement of one year to all who on the anniversary of Saint Francis's translation or on any day throughout the octave should reverently visit his church.¹

There are two copies of this document, each with the seals attached, amongst the archives of

¹ *Mirificans misericordias suas Dominus.* Dat. Laterani XVII kal. junii anno quarto.

the Sacro Convento, and there is another at the Vatican (Vat., t. 15, f. 12—Greg. IX a. 4 ep. 18—).

The Order was at this time in the throes of one of its periodical crises: the Spiritual Brethren were again giving trouble. John Parenti, timid and excitable, was driving his unruly team with a very tight rein, and these wild asses' colts, as Crescenzo of Jesi a little later contemptuously styles them, with much snorting and squealing were kicking over the traces. Hence Gregory's exhortation to Franciscan tranquillity, obedience, and an exact observance of the rule. But if the rule was irksome to the Spiritual men, it was also an impediment to the innovators, for how, they asked, is it possible to carry on a great and complicated concern when those who have the management of it are forbidden by their statutes to touch cash either themselves or by means of outside agents; and, also, they had another trouble—Saint Francis's alleged Will and the terrible burthen it placed on their shoulders.

The General Chapter had been summoned to consider this unpleasant situation. In due course it assembled, about the same time the relics of Saint Francis were translated, and some three weeks later, Gregory, who was still at the Lateran, wrote to the Bishops of Perugia and Spoleto thus :—

To the citizens of Assisi I have always been extraordinarily civil, not only during my pontificate but also in the days when I held a less exalted office ; I thought that they would have appreciated my friendliness, but, alas, they have rendered me evil for good, and that, in a matter in which they ought to have shown me the utmost consideration. For when I visited Assisi to enrol one of their fellow-citizens, Francis of sweet recollection, in the Kalendar of Saints, I myself with my own hands laid the foundation stone of a church which I had decided to build there in his honour. That church I have since adorned with all sorts of privileges, exemptions, immunities, desiring to make it famous for ever, a boon to the men of Assisi materially and spiritually. And what have these vexatious citizens done ? Disregarding their souls' welfare, aye, and their temporal interests as well, brought my cherished project to naught by their sacrilegious audacity.

I had named the Minister General and some other devout and God-fearing members of the Minorite Order my delegates for the translation of the most glorious body of Blessed Francis, for functions of this sort ought not to be performed without apostolic authority. But the men of Assisi incited by a spirit of furious madness failed to perceive that sacred things should be

touched only by consecrated hands, and with uproar and insolence seized the body of the Saint and thus profaned the mystery of his translation damnably. Nor would they suffer my delegates, his brethren in religion, so much as to approach his remains when they wanted to offer homage.

Therefore, venerable brethren, acting in my name, set the Church of Saint Francis under interdict, deprive it of all its privileges and place it under the jurisdiction of the Bishop and Canons of Assisi. Forbid any Chapter of the Order to be held there, or any member of the Order to dwell within its precincts until full satisfaction has been made for the sacrilege committed.

Moreover, unless within fifteen days the men of Assisi should have sent a suitable deputation to my presence to apologize for what has happened and to give pledges for their future good conduct, you will set their whole territory under interdict, and excommunicate the Mayor of Assisi and the other members of the City Council.¹

There was rioting in Padua when Saint Anthony died, and we know how it came about. The Friars of Padua had made up their minds to bury him in their own church, but the Poor Ladies of the large and populous suburb of Capo di Ponte

¹ *Speravimus hactenus*. Dat. Laterani XVI kal. julii anno quarto (June 16th, 1230).

maintained that, as Brother Anthony had breathed his last on their premises, they were the legitimate guardians of what remained of him ; and, as in those days the body of a Saint was a tremendous asset to any locality, the city supported the men and the suburb the women with enthusiasm.

It would be interesting to know the origin of the rioting at Assisi, but Gregory is our only reliable witness and, as we have seen, he does not so much as hint at it.

That many of the friars themselves were implicated in this affair I think is quite certain, for although Gregory does not say so, he would hardly have penalized the whole Order unless he had been convinced that the hands of a very considerable number of them were not clean. Be this as it may, his indignation, as usual, was short-lived : if the friars were ever ousted from the *Sacro Convento* they were soon back again, if their church was ever deprived of its privileges it was not long before they were restored, and in the affectionate letter which he wrote to the brethren only three months afterwards, there is not the slightest allusion to the sacrilege which had so recently troubled his peace of mind and the peace of the *Seraphic City*.

This document, momentous in the annals of the Franciscan Religion, brings us back to Saint

Anthony's Chapter : the General Chapter which met at Assisi immediately after the riot, perhaps even before all the rioters had dispersed. It is addressed to the General Provincials and Wardens and all other brethren of the Order of Minors, and dated Anagni, September 28th, 1230.¹ The preamble is the most important part, so far as we are concerned, the gist of it is as follows :—

Not long ago, dear children, I received a deputation from your Provincial Ministers sitting in General Chapter. That deputation was headed by you yourself, Son General, who appearing before me in person spake thus :—" There are certain things in our Rule of Life obscure, ambiguous, difficult to comprehend ; and Christ's Blessed Confessor Francis in a mandate or will that he made shortly before his death forbade any member of the Order to expound the rule himself and he likewise forbade us in his will to petition the Holy See for papers, and prescribed some other things exceedingly difficult to carry out, and hence we are worried by doubts and perplexities and torn this way and that. Therefore we humbly beseech you in the first place to inform us whether or no we are bound in conscience to observe our Holy Founder's will and in the second place to explain for us our

¹ *Quo elongati a saeculo.* Dat. Anagniae IV kal. octobris anno quarto.

Rule of Life, confident that from your long intimacy with Blessed Francis and from the fact that you were at his elbow to help him, not only whilst he was writing the rule but also throughout the negotiations which preceded its confirmation by the Holy See you know very well what he had in his mind when he set down these dark sayings."

This is what Gregory says about the will :—

I am quite certain that Christ's holy confessor made his will from motives of piety and with the best intention, and no less certain am I that you, his children, have it very much at heart to carry out to the full his last wishes. But, as I foresee that such a course would entail difficulties innumerable and grave peril to souls, in order to set your consciences at rest I hereby declare without hesitation that your venerable Founder's will is not binding. For this mandate was put forth without the consent of the Brethren, not even the Provincial Ministers were consulted, all of whom it touches personally : it is evident, then, that it cannot be binding in any way whatsoever, for since equals have no jurisdiction over equals, Saint Francis had no power to bind his successors.

This most important declaration in the original Latin runs thus :—

" Sane quamvis praedictum Christi confessorem

piam intentionem in praedicto mandato habuisse credamus, et vos justis votis ejus et desideriiis sanctis affectatis omnimode conformari : Nos tamen attendentes animarum periculum et difficultates, quas propter haec possetis incurrere, dubietatem de vestris cordibus amovendo, ad mandatum illud vos decimus non teneri, quod sine consensu fratrum maxime ministrorum, quos universos tangebatur, obligare nequivit, nec successorem suum quomodolibet obligavit, cum non habeat imperium par in parem."

Did Saint Anthony take any active part in any of the happenings above-recounted? The unknown author of the "Primitive Legend" is our only reliable witness, and what he says we have already seen. His exact words run thus :—

"Tempore namque capituli generalis quo sacratissimae beati patris Francisci reliquiae ad locum ubi debita veneratione requiescunt translatae sunt, solutus ab administratione fratrum, servus Dei Antonius generalem praedicationis libertatem a ministro generali suscepit."

Of what administrative post was Saint Anthony now deprived? This is a question most relevant. For according to the rule of 1223—Saint Francis's last rule—if he were a Provincial Minister (the head of a province) or a Custodian (the governor of a district) he had the right to sit and vote in General

Chapters, but not so if he were a simple guardian—the head of a single house.

On the passage from the “ Primitive Legend ” above-quoted the author of “ Benignitas ” has the following supplementary note :—“ In provincia etiam Romaniolae fratrum ministerium, *annis pluribus*,¹ laudabiliter rexit ; et, licet in verbo et doctrina omnes quasi per Italiam vere mortales transcenderet, in praelationis tamen officio se praebebat mirifice gratiosum.”

According to this writer, then, Saint Anthony was Provincial Minister of Romagna, but so much that he says is demonstrably false that one never can feel quite sure of the accuracy of any of his uncorroborated statements. This statement, however, is not altogether without corroboration ; we know that the Province of Romagna, or a portion of it, was called later on the Province of Saint Anthony, though, of course, it does not follow that the district in question was so called because Saint Anthony once ruled over it.

Our next witness is Thomas of Eccleston, whose interesting, incoherent and most inaccurate statement probably contains some truth. It must be taken for what it is worth. This is what Eccleston says :—

¹ This is certainly inaccurate : Saint Anthony was at most only eleven years in the Franciscan Order, perhaps less than ten.

“The first Minister General after Blessed Francis was Brother Elias, a scrivener of Bologna. To whom succeeded Brother John Parenti of Florence, Minister Provincial of Spain. He was a man of virtue and devotion and a disciplinarian of rigour, and when in the end he was deposed by the abettors of Brother Elias, Elias once more became Minister General.

“This thing his friends had already attempted at the Chapter held at Assisi, when the relics of Saint Francis were translated. It happened thus. Elias, knowing very well that the Ministers to a man were against him, invited his supporters of every grade to attend the Chapter in force and, as this was quite irregular, when these men arrived the Minister General refused to admit them; so they rushed to Elias’s cell and carried him, nothing loth, to the door of the Chapter house, broke it open, and would fain have enthroned him in the seat of authority. Perceiving which, the Minister General, there in the presence of the whole Chapter, stript himself naked. Whereat commotion past belief, for the intruders would not hear Saint Anthony, or any of the Provincials, but in the end they were worsted and withdrew covered with shame.

“Then up rose five novices, who in the world had been knights, and with tears in their voices

proclaimed that this strife would bring much good to the Order for no Order could brook disorder. And thus it came to pass that the breakers of the peace were dispersed in divers provinces to do penance, and as for Brother Elias he retired into a hermitage and let his beard grow and the hair of his head, and by this simulation of sanctity his brethren were appeased."

So great was the hubbub in the Chapter house that it reached the ears of the citizens of Assisi; but they had no inkling of the true cause of the strife, and believed that the sons of Saint Francis were at loggerheads because Elias had caused his relics to be translated three days before the other brethren had arrived.

By this Chapter an official deputation was dispatched to the Pope to beg him to explain the rule. It was headed by Brother John Parenti, Minister General, and six other brethren accompanied him, viz. Saint Anthony, Gerard Rusinol, the Lord Pope's Penitentiary, Haymo of Faversham, who was later on Minister General, Leo, who was afterwards Archbishop of Milan, Gerard of Modena, and Peter of Brescia.

These men, moreover, told the Pope all about the disturbance which Elias had created at the Chapter, and also how he had translated the body of Blessed Francis before the other brethren had

reached Assisi. And the Pope was much moved when he knew these things and exceedingly angry with Brother Elias until he heard that he was now doing penance in a hermitage and leading a life of wonderful sanctity and then he forgave him.

CHAPTER IX

CHAPTER IX

How Saint Anthony went to Padua in the summer of 1230 and there, commissioned by Rinaldo dei Conti, Cardinal Protector of the Order, wrote a book of sermons. Some notes concerning this man. Of Saint Anthony's successful mission in the Lent of 1231, to the men of Padua, and how Satan, at the beginning of Lent, by means of nocturnal illusions, endeavoured to thwart him. How the Saint persuaded the Government of Padua to pass a law for the relief of insolvent debtors and intervened, though without success, in behalf of certain political prisoners at Verona.

THE first use which Saint Anthony made of his freedom, when Minister General John Parenti had deprived him of his administrative post, was to set out for the city of Padua; for the Lord of Ostia had requested him to write a book of "Sermons on the Saints." Now it was at Padua that he had written his "Sermons on the Seasons"—seemingly the year before—and the men of Padua were congenial to him on account of their faith unfeigned, and their extraordinary piety, says the author of the "Primitive Legend," which is his way of explaining that the Government of Padua was now Guelph, and hence that the city was at this time a comparatively safe place for the Pope's friends to live in.

For Padua, then, Saint Anthony set out, travelling by easy stages—no difficult matter in those days for a Franciscan, for in almost every place of note and in many villages and hamlets as well there were already Franciscan friaries or at all events hermitages where any member of the Order was always sure of a welcome—and in the closing days of summer to Padua by the grace of God Saint Anthony came.

He took up his abode in the cloister of Saint Mary and at once set to work on his sermons, purposing to pass the whole of the winter in this profitable sort of penmanship. These two works, Saint Anthony's "Sermons on the Seasons" and his "Sermons on the Saints," are the only works attributed to him by his contemporary biographers, and it is by no means certain that either of them has come down to us. According to later writers he wrote also several other books of sermon, notably one on the psalms and a set of special sermons on Our Lady.

The Lord of Ostia, above referred to, was Cardinal Rinaldo dei Conti, Bishop of Velletri and Ostia, and a nephew of Pope Gregory IX, who in the month of August 1228 had appointed him Protector of the Franciscan Order. Many years afterwards, on December 12th, 1254, he himself became Vicar of Christ, and took the name of

Alexander IV. He was placid, sanguine, kind, a man who knew how to laugh as an ancient chronicler has it; like his uncle Ugolino, a great lover of Franciscans and an intimate friend of Saint Clare, but the author of the "Primitive Legend" is the only contemporary writer who suggests that he was personally acquainted with Saint Anthony. Salimbene's portrait of him is a pleasant one. This Pope, he says, was born at Anagni. He began in 1253 and sat for seven years. He was for many years the Cardinal Protector of our Order, and it was at our request that Pope Gregory IX gave him his red hat. He had a nephew a friar and a sister a Poor Clare, but he did not make her an Abbess nor his nephew a Cardinal. He was a man of letters and loved the study of theology, and often and gladly he used to preach and sing Mass and consecrate churches. He never embroiled himself in quarrels, but passed all his days in peace with all the world. Like Eglon, King of Moab, he was a very fat man. Just, he was, and merciful, courteous and very kind; he had the fear of God in his heart and he served Him faithfully. Moreover he was a most loyal friend, as was proved by his treatment of Brother Rinaldo of Tocca of our Order, whom he loved more dearly than David loved Jonathan. If all the world had said ill of him Alexander

would never have believed it; and once he went barefoot to open to him when he knocked at his bedroom door. Another friar saw him do so, who was alone with the Pope within, my friend, Brother Mansueto, from whom I heard all these things which I now set down.

Mansueto was probably Alexander's man-servant or maybe his medical attendant. In those days capable sons of Saint Francis were frequently attached to the households of Pontiffs and Prelates in various capacities. Pope Innocent IV, for example, Alexander's immediate predecessor, always had twelve friars in constant attendance on him.

But to return to Saint Anthony and Padua and the testimony of the "Primitive Legend."

When Lent came Saint Anthony, according to this legend, laid aside his writing materials and gave himself up entirely to the herding of stray sheep. His plan was to preach every day in one or other of the churches of Padua all through Lent, and preach every day he did throughout that holy season, but when he found that none of the churches were large enough to hold the vast congregations that flocked to hear him, he delivered his sermons in the market-places and open spaces of the city and at last in the great fields without the city walls.

Notwithstanding his ill health and his corpulence, for he was at this time afflicted with dropsy, so assiduous was he in preaching and teaching and hearing confessions that it often happened that he was not able to break his fast until after sundown.

The "Primitive" writer here inserts the following curious anecdote—the only anecdote in his *Life of Saint Anthony* that savours of the supernatural :—¹

Now Satan, that old and envious enemy of the human race, perceiving the good results of Brother Anthony's daily preaching, would fain have deterred him from this salutary practice, in the very first days of Lent, by means of nocturnal phantasms. This, believe me, is no fiction : it was related to me by a certain friar, who had it from the lips of Anthony himself.

The Saint, who had been labouring all day in his Master's vineyard, was now at last in his cell and stretched on his couch to recruit himself for the toils of the morrow, and whilst he was sleeping Satan suddenly compressed his windpipe with his finger and thumb and seemed to be on the point of strangling him. At once the blessed

¹ The *Primitive Legend* is divided into three parts : (a) The *Life of Saint Anthony*. (b) The *Death, Burial, and Canonization of Saint Anthony*. (c) The *Canonization Miracles*.

man made the sign of the cross, and called on the name of Our dear Lady, and at once he obtained relief. And when he opened his eyes to see the fiend depart the whole room was rosy with the light of heaven and Satan was not there. The Prince of Darkness had fled, as I verily believe, discomfited by the radiance of those heavenly beams.

The above anecdote is likewise related by the author of the "Dialogus Legend" and in much the same fashion, but with one noteworthy difference: in the later version the words are omitted by which the "Primitive" writer indicates that what he relates was a dream. "*Verum quia virtutis aemulus, hostis antiquus, bonis operibus obviare non cessat, volens Dei servum Antonium a proposito salutis inflectere, nocturnis eum illusionibus lacessere satagebat,*" says the "Primitive" writer. The "Dialogus" writer has: "*Ceterum quia virtutis aemulus humani generis inimicus bonis actibus nititur obviare, initio quadragesimae memoratae Dei servum tentans a proposito salutis inflectere, nocte quadam, cum se sopori dedisset, guttur ejus comprimens suffocare conatus est.*"

The people who flocked to hear Saint Anthony were not all of them Paduans. Some were from neighbouring towns or from the villages and

hamlets around, some from distant parts of the province, some even from Germany. They were of all classes and every trade—lawyers, merchants, money-lenders, professional thieves of every kind and of both sexes, frivolous women in shoals, who put off their finery and their jewels and arrayed themselves in sad garments cut like the garments of nuns. They crowded around the Saint and those that were able to touch but the hem of his tunic were happy, for they thought it would bring them luck, and some of them who were bolder brought scissors in their pockets and when they could snipped off little pieces of his habit, which they kept as relics. And in the end he was forced to have a body-guard of stalwart youths to protect him. Even the shopkeepers put up their shutters during the time of his preaching; and knights and great ladies, whose custom it was to spend the greater part of their lives in bed, thought it no hardship to rise before dawn and, lighted by flaming torches, to wait in the cold for hours in order to ensure a good hearing place at those famous conferences. The Bishop of Padua himself—Giacomo Corrado, who reigned from 1229 to 1239—did not think it beneath his dignity to attend them, and he saw to it that his canons accompanied him.

The seed which Brother Anthony sowed bore

fruit. So many desired to go to confession that there were not enough confessors in the city to shrive them, and they had to call in priests from outside. Enemies embraced, captives were set free, robbers made restitution, courtesans abandoned their ill-ordered lives, and so eager were certain financiers and usurers to liquidate their delinquencies that, finding themselves for the moment without ready cash, they did not hesitate to have recourse to other usurers, mortgaging lands and tenements or putting plate and jewels in pawn. And the money thus raised they laid at the feet of Brother Anthony, beseeching him to make satisfaction for their defalcations.

John Rigaldus, Friar Minor and, according to Wadding, who is not always to be trusted, Bishop of Tréguier in 1317, says in his "Life of Saint Anthony" that in the year 1292 a certain member of our Order chanced to fall in with a very old man, who told him that he had been acquainted with Saint Anthony in the days when the Saint was preaching his famous sermons at Padua. "In those days," said this ancient man with tears in his voice, "I was a robber, one of a gang of twelve who haunted the woods around the city and took toll of travellers. The rumour of his eloquence reached our ears and we went to hear him in disguise, nor was it long before we were

stricken with great grief for our sins. When the sermon was over we confessed ourselves to him, and to each one of us he said : ‘ This, maybe, is your last chance ; if you return to your vomit I foresee that a terrible punishment will overtake you, but if only you will strive to walk in the footsteps of Our dear Lord, I promise you in His name the happiness of Heaven.’ One or two relapsed, and as the Saint had foretold ended their days miserably, but those that persevered died in the peace of Christ. As for me, my penance was to visit the tomb of the Apostle twelve times, I have just finished my last pilgrimage and am now looking forward to the eternal rest that Saint Anthony promised me.”

The statement that captives were set free in consequence of Saint Anthony’s preaching, or to quote the exact words of the “ Primitive ” writer *Captivitate pressos libertate donabat*—and the “ Dialogus ” writer uses almost the same words : *Captivitate compressos libertate donabat* is as it stands a sufficiently disconcerting one.

The “ Primitive ” writer seems to have been incapable of setting down an exact statement, and all that the “ Dialogus ” writer knew of his subject was what he had learnt from the “ Primitive ” writer. We know, however, from another source, the precise meaning of these imprecise assertions.

What Saint Anthony did was to obtain the release, not of all prisoners indiscriminately, but of those who were imprisoned for debt. The lot of insolvent debtors in Padua was at this time a cruel one. Not only were they deprived of all their possessions, but likewise of their liberty: they were either condemned to perpetual banishment or else put in gaol and kept there until they had paid the last farthing; that is to say in most cases until they were released by death. It was for these poor insolvent debtors that Saint Anthony obtained relief. On the 15th of March, 1231, Stefano Badoer being Podestà or Governor of the city, the first Bankruptcy law of Padua was enacted. It ordained that henceforth no citizen of Padua should be detained in prison for any kind of debt after he had made a public renouncement of all his property in favour of his creditors, or of those who had stood surety for him. This statute was retrospective, and it is expressly stated in the text, an authentic copy of which is preserved in the Municipal Library of Padua, that it was enacted at the request of Brother Anthony of the Friars Minor.

We learn from Rolandino of Padua that in the month of May 1231, soon after he had finished his preaching and only a few weeks before his death, Saint Anthony intervened, though without

success, in behalf of certain political prisoners who had been detained in gaol at Verona since 1227. It happened in this way.

Padua was a Guelph city: the people were Guelph and the Government was Guelph. The men of the rival city of Verona, who were divided in their political opinions, had been living under a mixed administration, half Ghibelline, half Guelph, until 1227, when some of the Ghibelline leaders with the aid of that crafty and redoubtable soldier Ezzelino da Romano, agent of the Emperor Frederick II in Lombardy, took the city unawares, and without much difficulty made themselves masters of it. Such of the Guelph leaders as were not able to save themselves by flight were put into prison, and amongst them Ezzelino's brother-in-law Ricciardo, Count of San Bonifacio, who had intimate relations with Padua and was exceedingly popular there. When the men of Padua heard what had happened they sent an expedition against Verona headed by their Governor, Stefano Badoer, to demand the release of Ricciardo at the sword's point; but the expedition failed and the Guelph leaders were still in prison when Saint Anthony was at Padua in 1231.

"I know not," says Rolandino, "how it came about: whether this holy man acted on the impulse of his own kind heart or whether he was urged

thereto by the friends of Count Bonifacio, but this I do know, he went to Verona and poured forth prayers innumerable to the Governor of Verona and the rulers of Lombardy and the Lord Ezzelino that the Count and his fellow-prisoners should be released; but petitions however just are of no avail when they are addressed to men in whose hearts there is not the slightest germ of charity, and Blessed Anthony returning to Padua without having accomplished anything—in *nullo namque penitus exauditus*—desired to go into the wilderness and chew the cud of Holy Scripture.”

What Rolandino says is thus confirmed in another chronicle of the same period—*Vita Ricciardi comitis Sancti Bonifacii*:¹—Brother Anthony poured forth the most fervent prayers for Ricciardo’s liberation, but no one paid any heed to him. *Summas pro Ricciardo libertate preces ingessit; idque et ipse incassum.*

Rolandino informs us in another part of his “Chronicle” that Count Ricciardo and his comrades obtained their liberty in 1232, about seven months after Saint Anthony’s death, thanks to the good offices of Wifredo da Lucino, who at that time was Podestà of Padua.

The historical account of this incident—Saint Anthony’s visit to Verona—was not to the liking

¹ Muratori gives the text of this work: t. VIII, p. 126.

of the author of the "Legend Benignitas," who revised it thus :—When that august usurper, that false and ferocious despot, Ezzelino da Romano, in the first days of his tyranny made a great slaughter of men in the city of Verona, Blessed Anthony, full of courage, sought him out and thus addressed him, 'Enemy of God, raging monster, mad-dog, when will you cease to pour out the blood of the innocent? The sword of Christ's vengeance is suspended above your head,' and many other most reprehensive and unpleasant reproaches he flung in his teeth. The servants who were standing around were expecting every moment that their master would give them the signal, according to his custom, to fall upon the audacious friar and slay him. But Ezzelino was meek as a lamb: he undid his girdle and twisted it round his neck and, throwing himself at Saint Anthony's feet, confessed his sins with much humility, and promised to follow his counsels for the amendment of his life. And he afterwards said to his servants, 'Do you wonder at what I did? I saw lightning come forth from the eyes of that holy man, and I was expecting every moment to be hurled into the bottomless pit.' "

Whilst the true account seems to have been forgotten within thirty years of Saint Anthony's decease, this fabulous account of his interview

with Ezzelino still survives. In almost all the Lives of Saint Anthony written after " Benignitas " and onwards to the present day—and their name is Legion—this old romance may be read, almost word for word, as it was written in the beginning, and note this :—It is built up on an anachronism : the massacre which, according to " Benignitas," called forth Saint Anthony's indignation, took place, in reality, twenty years after his death.

CHAPTER X

CHAPTER X

How Saint Anthony, after his mission to Padua, went to the forest of Camposampiero, ten miles out of town, for rest and recreation, and how the Lord of the place—Tiso da Camposampiero—built him a cell there in the fork of a great chestnut tree.

THE author of the "Primitive Legend," who, as we have seen, says that Saint Anthony preached throughout Lent to the men of Padua, adds in another chapter that he continued to preach until harvest time came and hands were needed to gather the crops, when he bade the people go to the fields and went himself to the wilderness of Camposampiero—some ten or twelve miles north of Padua—desiring to be alone with nature and with God.

This is how he spins out his meagre information :—" Factum est autem, dum haec agerentur, ut e vicino tempus messis instaret. Videns igitur fidelis ac prudens Dei servus necessariam populo colligendae messis occupationem usque ad tempus apti sermonis cessandum sibi a predicatione censebat, dimissisque saecularium turbis, loca secreti conscia petiit, et ad locum qui Campus

sancti Petri dicitur, quietae solitudinis gratia, se contulit.”

Moreover, Rolandino, speaking of a curious habit Saint Anthony had of looking upwards whilst he was preaching, tells us, incidentally, that, during his visit to Padua in 1231, he preached not only in Padua itself but also in various other towns and villages in the March of Traversa. Thus :—“ Hic (Antonius), Paduae corporaliter conversatus cum fratribus, spiritualiter habitabat in coelis, et suis praedicationibus, quas per diversas contratas Paduae, imo Marchiae etiam per civitates et villas saepissime faciebat, suos habebat oculos et mentem multo magis elevatam ad coelum.” Also Rolandino says that the place to which Saint Anthony retired after his unfortunate expedition to Verona was Camposampiero.

This, then, I think, is what happened :—Saint Anthony preached to the people of Padua every day throughout Lent; and when Lent was over he went out into the open country, tramping from place to place, and preaching and teaching wherever he went, until haymaking time arrived; (that is what the “ Primitive ” writer means by the word harvest, *mensis*, for before the corn was ripe Saint Anthony was in his grave. He died on the 13th of June and in this part of Italy they generally begin to cut the corn on Saint Peter’s

Day, the 29th of June); then came the visit to Verona and after that the solitude of Camposampiero.

On the outskirts of this forest the friars of Padua had a little house, which had been lent to them by their very good friend, Tiso da Camposampiero, who was the Lord of the place and the owner of all the land in that part of the country. Their little house was what Franciscans in those days called a hermitage: a house in a solitary place for the refreshment of brethren tired in soul or mind or body. To this place, then, in his disappointment and humiliation Saint Anthony came; and when Tiso heard that he was his next door neighbour—for his villa was not a stone's throw from the friar's abode—"not a little exhilarated," he resolved to show him the utmost kindness and to do all he could to serve him. Whether these two men had been acquainted previously the "Primitive" writer does not say, neither does Rolandino, but in any case they must have known one another by repute, and, also, there was this bond of sympathy between them: each of them had suffered at the hands of Ezzelino da Romano. Saint Anthony, as we have seen; and Tiso, thus:—A few years earlier—it was at the time of the trouble at Verona between the Ghibellines and the Guelphs—Ezzelino had

seized the Fortress at Fonti and carried off Tiso's grandson, Guglielmo; and though in the end he surrendered both the child and the Castle, it was not until he had been compelled to do so by the men of Padua at the point of the sword. Tiso, like most of the great landowners in the neighbourhood, and some further afield, was a citizen of Padua.

In the forest of Camposampiero there was one tree that surpassed the rest alike in girth and height and in the circumference of its shade—a wonderful old chestnut tree, whose gnarled trunk supported a crown of six great branches soaring into the heavens. It was not far from the hermitage, and when Saint Anthony, strolling in the thicket one sultry afternoon, for the first time set eyes on it, he was so enthralled by the majesty of this giant tree that he desired to have a cell within its branches. For Saint Anthony, like all good men, was a great lover of trees, and besides it seemed to him that the quiet and seclusion of the place would be likely to foster contemplation.

Tiso, informed of the Saint's whim by one of the friars, readily gave his consent; nay, eager to do his friend a service, he at once hastened to the forest, with his own hands cut stakes and withies, and working at it with a will, soon high

up in the crown of that noble tree there was a hut of hurdle-work, very commodious and comfortable, for Saint Anthony's accommodation; and two others, a little lower down, not so neatly finished, but very well made, for the two brethren who served him.

In this little hive, says the "Primitive" writer, in this little hive set up above the earth, Saint Anthony, like a busy bee, was always working, always poring over the sacred writings or considering them in his heart. Like a bird perched on a twig, he seemed to be preening his wings for his flight heavenward.

Rolandino gives another reason for this incessant searching of the scriptures. It was not to prepare himself for death, as the "Primitive" writer suggests, but because Saint Anthony, who had hitherto restricted himself to writing skeleton sermons for the convenience of incompetent preachers, now had it in his mind to write a book that should appeal to all Christian people. Some such work I suppose as the "Imitation of Christ."

"In nullo nanque penitus exauditus, regressus Paduam, in contemplatione cunctis Christi fidelibus reverenda, in loco quasi deserto, voluit ducere vitam suam. Et constructa sibi quadam habitatione paupercola prope ad villam de Campo sancti

Petri Paduanae dioecesis, in arbore quadam ramosa, nuce videlicet, die noctuque regyrans vetus testamentum et novum, scribere parabat utilia toti populo Christiano.”

Rolandino's explanation seems to me to be the more probable. Matter of little moment. That book was never written : before Saint Anthony had had time to write even a line of it, he died.

CHAPTER XI

CHAPTER XI

Of the passing of Saint Anthony.

WE do not know for how long Saint Anthony lived in his leafy abode, but it cannot have been longer than two or three weeks, and may have been only for two or three days. His health had been failing for some time past. From the various descriptions that have come down to us of his infirmities he seems to have been suffering from dropsy, outcome of heart trouble. The story of Satan's attempt to throttle him, above related, points too in this direction. Probably his end was hastened by his hard work and hard life at Padua during Lent, and afterwards in the country. The disappointment and mortification of the expedition to Verona must have entailed immense mental suffering on one of his sensibility, and perhaps the cell in the chestnut tree was the last straw.

Be these things as they may, the end came almost without warning : he was up and about as usual within a few hours of his death.

The " Primitive " writer tells us how it all

happened in a simple, straightforward way and not without a certain amount of detail. He even mentions a few names.

On Friday the 13th of June, 1231, when he heard the cloister bell ringing for breakfast, Saint Anthony came down from his tree, went to the refectory and sat down to table with the rest of the brethren as usual. Soon after he had taken his seat he was seized by a strange feeling of giddiness, which he had never experienced before, and in an instant all the strength seemed to go out of his body. His companions suggested that he should lie down, but when he attempted to rise from his seat, his legs gave under him, and if they had not run to his assistance he would have fallen, and with their support he was just able to drag himself to a couch.

And when he was left alone with his faithful servant Ruggiero, who was sitting by his bedside keeping watch over him, "Brother," he said, "I am a dying man and I do not wish to put these good kind hermits to the worry and disturbance of a funeral, and, therefore, if you approve, we will go home to Saint Mary's at once." Now Ruggiero by no means approved, but not liking to gainsay his master, he went out to the stable and yoked the oxen. When the other brethren knew that the Saint was going to leave them they were

not a little distressed and tried at first to dissuade him, but when they found that his mind was set on it they let him have his way. And so he was placed in the ox-wagon and accompanied by his two servants set out for Padua.

When they were nearing the suburb of Capo di Ponte they met Brother Ignoto, a friend of the Saint's, who was on his way to Camposampiero to spend a few days with him, and when he saw how ill he was, "Take my advice," he said, "and don't go on to Saint Mary's: in that great house in the centre of the city you will not be allowed a moment's peace, there will be a continual coming and going of people to enquire, and the brethren will never be able to keep them out of your cell. Far better turn into our little place at Arcella, which is not a stone's throw from where we are now."

At Arcella there was a large community of Poor Clares, or as they were called in those days Poor Ladies. Their chaplains were all Franciscans, they lived in a little house on the abbey domain, and Ignoto seems to have been one of them.

Saint Anthony saw the reasonableness of his friend's advice, and after a few minutes the wagon drew up at the chaplains' door.

They put him to bed as quickly as possible, and everything was done that could be done to

comfort him, but in spite of all their care he became so rapidly worse that all about him thought, and he too thought, that he would not outlive the night. And note, this man who from his youth upwards had worn the yoke, this blessed man who throughout the whole of his life had loved God with all his heart and his neighbour as himself, this Saint, I say, who was bringing the White robe of his Baptism stainless to the Judgment Seat of Christ, when he found himself face to face with death was overwhelmed with such an immense fear that he was not able to conceal it. But he soon mastered his emotion, and when he had made his confession and had been absolved he felt so happy that he wished to sing, and did sing, from beginning to end, in a clear strong voice, not at all like the voice of a dying man, this noble song to Our Blessed Lady :—

O gloriosa Domina,
Excelsa supra sidera,
Qui te creavit provide
Lactasti sacro ubere.

Quod Eva tristis abstulit,
Tu reddis almo germine;
Intrent ut astra flebiles
Coeli fenestra facta es.

Tu regis alti janua
Et porta lucis fulgida :
Vitam datam per Virginem
Gentes redemptae plaudite.

Gloria tibi Domine,
Qui natus es de Virgine,
Cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu
In sempiterna saecula.

And when he had finished singing, suddenly he lifted his hands as one astounded, and with his eyelids wide open and his eyes shining with a strange unearthly light he seemed to see something that the others did not see. Whereat Ruggiero, under his breath, "Do you see anything, Brother?" and Anthony, "I see my Lord." Just then the chaplain entered with Holy Oil to anoint him, and when the Saint saw him he said, "It is not necessary, dearest Brother, for I have that ointment in my heart already; nevertheless it is good for me, and I am well pleased," and he held out the palms of his hands. Whilst they were giving him Extreme Unction the whole community knelt round his bed and recited the seven Penitential Psalms, as the rubric directs, Anthony, with his hands clasped, joining his voice to theirs.

He never spoke again. For about half an hour his comrades stood by his bedside expecting, and then, for this good and faithful servant, "that little bit of trouble which we call life" was over, and his happy spirit was absorbed in the infinite abyss of God's Love.

O great Anthony, my patron and my friend, help me now and at the hour of my death, Amen.

CHAPTER XII

CHAPTER XII

How Saint Anthony, at the moment of death, appeared to his friend Thomas Gallo, Abbot of Vercelli.

THE author of the legend "Benignitas" informs us that Saint Anthony at the moment of death appeared to that most famous Abbot of Vercelli with whom in his lifetime he had been intimate and who in one of his works had eulogized him as a mystic theologian.

Evidently Thomas Gallo, Canon Regular of the Congregation of Saint Victor and Abbot of the famous Victorine House of Saint Andrew at Vercelli, who in his "Commentary on Saint Denis the Areopagite"—a work which has never been printed—commends Saint Anthony's theological attainments. I am not acquainted with Gallo's "Commentary," but the Abbé Lepitre—a most careful writer—gives the following French translation of the passage in question :—

"Beaucoup ont pénétré les mystères de la Sainte Trinité, comme je l'ai constaté chez Antoine, de l'ordre des Mineurs, dans les relations

familiales (in *familiari consuetudine*) que j'ai eues avec lui. Peu instruit dans les disciplines profanes, il acquit si vite la théologie mystique, qu'il était embrasé au dedans d'une ardeur céleste, et qu'au dehors il illuminait par une science divine."

This is the story as related in the legend "Benignitas":—

On the day of Saint Anthony's death, the Abbot of Vercelli, sick with a sore throat, was alone in his cell reading, when suddenly the door opened and Anthony came in. I have come, Lord Abbot, he said, to wish you good-bye, for I have left the ass at Arcella and am now hastening to my fatherland. Now Gallo, who was ignorant of Anthony's decease, thought that he was on his way to the land of his birth, but he had no time to ask him, for the Saint, having very gently touched his throat and healed it, in the twinkling of an eye disappeared.

The Abbot, astounded, rose from his seat and peered into the cloister, but there was no sign of his friend there. He summoned his servants—"Where is Brother Anthony?" And they, not a little surprised, all gave the same answer—"I don't know, my Lord." "But I tell you," he cried, "he was here just now. I saw him myself with my own eyes. He entered my

chamber, spoke to me, and then went out at that door."

The Abbot of Vercelli was perplexed. He could not understand it at all. He thought he would send round to the "place" of the Minorites to see if they knew anything of Brother Anthony's arrival. He did so, and when the answer came back No, in a flash the truth broke on him. What his friend had meant by "the ass" was his body, and by his "fatherland" Heaven. Brother Anthony was dead and he had seen his ghost.

Now this abbot was a methodical man. He took out his tablets and noted down very carefully the day and hour of the apparition, and later on he discovered that it was on that very day and at the same moment that Brother Anthony's blessed spirit had gone forth. This incident was related to the brethren by the Abbot of Vercelli himself, with tears in his voice.

What are we to think of this anecdote, made known to us by a late and notoriously inaccurate writer?

Stories of this sort are common enough, and some of them seem to be well authenticated. As to this particular story, I like to think it is true—*Se non è vero è ben trovato*.

CHAPTER XIII

CHAPTER XIII

Of the dispute between the Poor Ladies of Arcella and the friars of Saint Mary's in the city concerning Saint Anthony's place of burial, and of the rioting and the gruesome incidents that were the outcome of it; and how Saint Anthony's body was at last laid to rest in the place which he seems to have desired.

SAINT ANTHONY, who died on the afternoon of Friday, June 13th, seemingly about 4 o'clock, was not buried until the following Wednesday or Thursday; his funeral having been delayed by a dispute, concerning his place of burial, between the Poor Ladies of Arcella and the friars of Saint Mary's.

Of this dispute and the extraordinary incidents that were the outcome of it the "Primitive" writer gives a long, garrulous and confused account stuffed with minute details, some of which, though interesting in themselves, do not help to elucidate it, and without some important facts, which if they could be supplied would no doubt render it perfectly intelligible.

As it is the story does not hang together, but it is exceedingly interesting, and written so

graphically that I think the author must have been an eye-witness of much that he relates.

Julian, too, gives an account of this trouble, and it is clearer and more concise, but does not add to our information, and no other contemporary writer mentions it.

What was Saint Anthony's legal burial place seems to have been a very nice point of law.

If he had been an ordinary citizen who had died in his ordinary abode he would have been laid to rest as a matter of course in the cemetery of his parish church. But Saint Anthony had been a Franciscan, and a Franciscan with no fixed place of abode, he had died in a house in the domain of the Abbess of Arcella, and to complicate matters he was a Saint.

By his rescript, *Ita vobis et ordine vestro*, of July 26th, 1227, Pope Gregory IX had granted to the members of the Franciscan Order the privilege of free sepulture, that is, exemption from the payment of burial fees to parish priests, and the right to have in all their places—monasteries, hermitages, chaplaincies—private burial places for themselves only, not for outsiders.

Hence the men of Saint Mary's seem to have held that the proper burial place for Saint Anthony was in their own monastery, seeing that this place had been his ordinary abode throughout

the whole of his stay in the city of Padua. And on the other hand, the Abbess of Arcella and her friends maintained that since her chaplains were all of them Franciscans, the house which they occupied was a Franciscan "place," and that since Brother Anthony had died there, and was himself a Franciscan, obviously he ought to be buried in the church attached to it, to wit in her own Abbey Church.

Now if Anthony had not been a Saint, the men of Saint Mary's, in all probability, would only have interested themselves in his funeral, to this extent: they would have done their utmost, for the sake of upholding the rights of the Order, to have him buried in a cemetery belonging to the Order; and as for the women of Arcella, it is not likely that they would have cared two straws where he was buried. Why should they? they were not acquainted with him, he was not one of their chaplains, they had never even seen him. Once or twice in the course of the preceding Lent he had preached to the people of Padua, not to themselves, in their Abbey Church, and they, sitting behind a heavy purple curtain suspended between two iron grills, according to the custom of the Order upon such occasions, had heard him. That was all that they knew of Brother Anthony.

It was only because he was a Saint that his

poor, worn-out body seemed alike to the men and the women to be such a desirable possession.

All religious communities at this period were eager to possess the body of a Saint, especially when the Saint was a member of their own Order. They regarded it as a sort of protection, it satisfied their devotion, it enhanced in the eyes of the multitude the prestige of their house, and so, indirectly, was the means of procuring for them not only spiritual blessings but material blessings as well.

There is no evidence to show, no reason whatsoever to suppose that any of the Franciscan Communities of the First Order were at this period in straitened circumstances. The friar was still in his first fervour, he lived simply and frugally : he went out into the world, mixed with the people, did his utmost to help them, and did help them most effectually in various ways, spiritually and temporally as well, and he was popular and deservedly popular. Man is not an ungrateful animal, and the alms of the faithful flowed into his coffers in a copious and steady stream. I do not think, then, that it is likely that the men of St. Mary's, in acting as they did, were animated by the desire of increasing that stream. *Esprit de corps* and loyalty to Saint Anthony, these were the chief motives which actuated them, as we shall see.

In very different plight were the members of the Second Order. These unfortunate women, most of whom in the world had been women of wealth and position, before they entered religion, had divested themselves, like the men, of everything that they possessed in favour of the poor; but unlike the men they were "dead to the world and buried with Christ in the cloister," and the world seems to have forgotten them—out of sight out of mind—and they were very often without the common necessities of life.

If, then, the Abbess of Arcella and her Poor Ladies desired that Saint Anthony should be buried in their church because they hoped that it would serve to remind the good folk of Padua of their existence, who shall blame them?

With the exception of the Bishop—Giacomo Corrado—who from the first was in favour of the friars, the higher clergy all through this struggle were staunch supporters of the nuns: the secular and regular clergy, as a rule, had little love for one another, and the relations between the First and Second Order of Saint Francis were at this time exceedingly strained.

So, too, the higher civil authorities, with many of whom the Poor Ladies were in all probability connected by ties of blood.

All the inhabitants of the large and populous

suburb of Capo di Ponte proved themselves likewise to be their very good friends; for the Poor Ladies were suburbans, the suburb was separated from the city by a stream, and local patriotism in those days was one of the cardinal virtues.

Curiously enough the inhabitants of the city, with the exception perhaps of the official world, seem to have taken no interest whatever in this affair until the final outburst, when the whole population from the highest to the lowest rallied to the side of the friars; not so much because they were convinced of the justice of their cause, but chiefly on account of the havoc wrought by the abettors of my Lady Abbess, which touched the pockets of all.

Now for the facts of this fragmentary and incoherent story:—

The first thing that the Poor Ladies did in furtherance of their project was to send round to all the magnates of the city with whom they were acquainted, ecclesiastical and civil as well, to solicit their support, and from every one of them they received a satisfactory answer.

Now although the chaplains of the Abbess of Arcella, not wishing to be overwhelmed that night by an avalanche of devotees, had agreed together to keep Saint Anthony's death a secret

till the next morning, hardly was the breath out of his body when boys were running through the streets shouting the news—*E' morto il santo padre. E' morto il santo. E' morto sant' Antonio.*

Whereat three things happened. A great wail of lamentation rose up from the city, for even those who had not known him felt as if they had lost a friend; a strong guard of armed men, acting under the instruction of some of the Abbess's powerful friends, surrounded the chaplains' house; and—what they had so much dreaded—from all parts of the city a vast throng of men and women of every class and every age crowded into the death chamber. *Adsunt proinde viri religiosi; ruit turba sexus promiscui, juvenes ac virgines, cum junioribus senes, parvus et magnus, liber et servus*, as the "Primitive" writer has it.

A little later on the men of Saint Mary's arrived with a litter to carry away the body, for they deemed it a shameful thing—an evil not to be endured, that the sacred ashes of Blessed Anthony should be buried anywhere but in their own church, especially as with his last breath he had expressed a wish to be buried there.

But when the armed men who were guarding the house disputed their right to do so they desisted, and amid the threats and jeers of the

mob hurried off to the Bishop, not a little surprised that they had escaped with whole skins.

Having first consulted his Canons, who said that in their judgment the nuns had the better case, the Bishop, unconvinced by their learned arguments, sat down and wrote a note to the Podestà (Stefano Badoer) requesting him to give the brethren of Saint Mary's, who desired to convey the remains of Brother Anthony, recently deceased, to their own abode, adequate protection.

Meanwhile the fervour of the devout men of the suburb had waxed rather than waned. Kicking against the Podestà, they refused to give up the Saint's body and swore with a great oath that they would never suffer themselves to be robbed of this pearl of great price—*pretiosa margarita*.

Nevertheless, they very soon came to terms with their opponents. The leaders—friends of the Abbess—suggested a compromise, and the men of Saint Mary's jumped at it: as well they might, for the terms proposed were much more favourable to them than to her. The Provincial Minister was out of town, but expected shortly, and it was arranged that the body of Saint Anthony should remain where it was for the present, and that on his return the Provincial should decide where it was to be buried.

It was now nearly dark, the pilgrims had dis-

persed and the chaplains closed their doors for the night, and as a precaution, for the town was in such a disturbed state that they did not know what might happen, locked, barred and bolted them.

In the middle of the night, whilst they were keeping watch by their dead comrade and praying for the repose of his soul, suddenly they were disturbed by a tremendous uproar, and the next minute a crowd of roughs, who had wrenched the door off its hinges, rushed into the room. They had come, they said, to see the body. These men, full of suspicion, wished to assure themselves that those wily friars had not under cover of darkness carried off their treasure.

In the morning, more visitors desiring to see the dead Saint and, if possible, to touch him; and not only townsfolk as on the preceding day, but also peasants from the villages and hamlets around. Those who were not able to enter the house on account of the crush threw trinkets through the windows—rings, necklaces, belts, coins and even keys, or suspended these objects on the ends of fishing rods, which they thrust in through the windows, in order that they might receive them back from their friends, consecrated by contact with the sacred relics.

It was summer-time, and the weather was hot,

and the Provincial Minister tarried. The chaplains, therefore, deemed it expedient to give the body provisional burial. They did so, probably during the hour of the afternoon sleep, and immediately afterwards someone in the crowd outside cried out, "They have taken away the body." This was the signal for a fresh invasion: the windows were smashed and the door again torn off its hinges, nor would the intruders withdraw until the coffin had been disinterred and they had assured themselves by beating it with sticks that it was not empty.

When at last the Provincial Minister arrived, late on Saturday night, and had learnt the pros and cons of the case, he would neither say yea nor nay; for although he was of one mind with his brethren, he was exceedingly loth to give a decision against the Abbess of Arcella, whose friends in laying her case before him had added to their arguments threats; and besides he knew that if he did so he would never be able to enforce it in face of the violent opposition of the roughs of Capo di Ponte, and so, not knowing what else to do, he temporized; and on Monday morning, worried to death and at his wit's end, he betook himself to the Podestà for protection and advice. Whereat Stefano Badoer convoked a full assembly of the City Council. The question was debated

with heat and at length and in the end the Provincial was informed that the proper person to apply to was the Bishop of the diocese, as the civil authorities were not competent to deal with ecclesiastical matters; but they were ready to give him protection—the chaplains' house should be guarded, and a proclamation should be at once issued prohibiting any man to enter it armed or in any way to molest any of the friars of the city, under penalty of a fine of twenty pounds. Half dead with worry and fatigue he dragged his weary limbs to the Vescovado. "This matter," said the Bishop, "is so serious that before venturing to deal with it I must take counsel not only with my Canons but also with all the clergy in Padua." He did so and, as before, all the higher clergy were of opinion that the brethren of Saint Mary's had not a leg to stand on. To which the Provincial Minister made answer that according to the sworn testimony of the Brother who had waited on him (seemingly Ruggiero) Saint Anthony on his death bed had expressed a very earnest wish to be buried at Saint Mary's. The Bishop was much impressed, and at once gave what was virtually a verdict in favour of the friars. He ordained that the funeral should take place on the morrow, invested the Provincial with full faculties to arrange everything

according to his good pleasure, informed the Podestà of what he had done, and requested him to take the necessary measures for the preservation of peace.

No doubt the men of Saint Mary's were sufficiently gratified. Hardly so their unfortunate Superior, who was thus condemned to take on his own shoulders a most invidious burthen.

Nor was the task assigned to the Podestà an easy one: over the river Bacchiglione, which separated the city from the suburb, there was only one bridge, and the road which led to it from the village of Arcella passed through the heart of the suburb. It was impossible, therefore, for the funeral procession to enter the city by this route, and in the end the Podestà decided that the only thing to do was to build a bridge of boats higher up stream and immediately opposite the chaplains' house, which seems to have stood on the banks of the river.

They worked at it all night, and when at last it was finished, the men of Capo di Ponte with much spirit not only broke up the bridge, but hacked the barges to pieces on which it was built.

Enraged at this wanton destruction of so much valuable property, for it touched the pockets of all (Were these barges the property of the town?),

the other citizens rushed to arms threatening retaliation; and soon the men of the suburb, drawn up in battle array, were vowing vengeance on any man who should venture to fire their houses or to lay profane hands on the blessed body of Saint Anthony.

Whereat the men of Saint Mary's, shaking with terror and gnawed by remorse, beat their breasts: Miserable men that we are, it was we who unchained this devil; unless the Lord save the city it will be utterly destroyed. The Poor Ladies, too, when they heard what had happened, took up their lament, considering themselves to be the cause of all this mischief, and they were now as eager to be quit of those holy relics as before they had been to retain them.

But the hurricane soon subsided, and with the exception of the wreckage of the barges no damage seems to have been done. The Podestà, says the "Primitive" writer, determined to put down sedition, summoned all the citizens to a conference in the Town Hall and forbade the breakers of the bridge to return to their homes that day under pain of the forfeiture of the whole of their estates. And after that there was no more rioting.

The Bishop, accompanied by all his clergy, betook himself to the chaplains' house. So, too,

the Podestà and the members of his Council. The coffin was brought forth, Stefano Badoer himself and some of the noblest citizens of Padua carrying the bier. They passed through the heart of Capo di Ponte, singing hymns and songs and spiritual canticles and accompanied by a crowd of citizens, every man who could get one with a flaming torch, and entering the city by the ordinary bridge they reached the Church of Saint Mary without let or hindrance; and in that church, when the Bishop had sung Requiem, the blessed body of Saint Anthony was laid to rest.

CHAPTER XIV

CHAPTER XIV

Of the miracles wrought at Anthony's tomb immediately after his funeral and how it became a place of pilgrimage. How, within a month of his death, the men of Padua petitioned the Pope for his canonization. Of the inquisitors whom the Pope appointed to scrutinize the alleged miracles, with some account of their inquisition. Of the opposition of some of the Cardinals to so rapid a canonization, and how at last their scruples were removed by a gruesome dream. How in the Cathedral Church of Spoleto on the 31st of May, 1232, our blessed Father and Brother Anthony was solemnly enrolled in the Catalogue of the Saints.

IF Saint Anthony was not in his lifetime a famous worker of miracles, hardly "had he touched the goal of his high calling" when the miracles began.

One of the servants of the Abbess of Arcella, Sister Oliva, was among the crowd of devotees who had visited the chaplains' house when the body of the Saint was lying there unburied, and kissing his hand devoutly she had begged Our Lord to give her her Purgatory in this world instead of the next. On the following night, when she was at supper with the rest of the community, she was seized with such violent

pangs that she made the cloister re-echo with her piercing cries of distress. Whereat my Lady Abbess bade them carry her to the Infirmary, and then, to quote the words of Blessed John of Parma, who, as his friend Salimbene informs us, knew how to season his writings with pithy sayings—*quae sibi votis omnibus in praesenti poenam infligi poposcerat, multiplicatis precibus ab eodem remedia flagitabat.*

Sister Oliva seems to have been one of those indiscreet women who had snipped off pieces of Saint Anthony's habit in the days of the great preaching. In any case she suddenly remembered that she had a little piece of the Saint's habit hidden away, this she applied to the afflicted place and immediately the pain ceased.

Whether it was on account of this anecdote or of other tales which have not come down to us that were being told, great was the confidence of the men of Padua in Brother Anthony almost immediately after his death: on the very day of his funeral they began to carry their sick folk to his tomb in Saint Mary's in order that they might touch it and be healed (and they were healed) and when the church was so full of cripples and other poor afflicted miseries that it would hold no more, the sick were laid on mattresses on the ground outside, and there, in the

sight of all the people, in the twinkling of an eye, they were restored to health. *Ibi revera oculi caecorum aperti sunt ; ibi aures surdorum patuerunt ; ibi claudus sicut cervus saliit ; ibi soluta mutorum lingua velociter et plane Dei laudes acclamavit. Ibi dissoluta paralysi membra in usus pristinos solidantur ; ibi gibbus, gutta, febris et morborum pestes variae mirabiliter fugantur*, says the “ Primitive ” writer.

Julian in his “ Legend ” says much the same thing, and so too in his “ Office,” notably in that famous Responsory of his, which was formerly attributed to Saint Bonaventure :—

“ Si quaeris miracula,
Mors, error, calamitas,
Daemon, lepra fugiunt,
Aegri surgunt sani.

Cedunt mare, vincula,
Membra resque perditas
Petunt et accipiunt
Juvenes et cani.

Pereunt pericula,
Cessat et necessitas,
Narrent hi qui sentiunt,
Dicant Paduani.”

The Saint’s renown as a *thaumaturgus* spread far and wide and pilgrims flocked to Padua from all parts :—*Currunt Veneti, properant Tervisini, adsunt Vicentini, Lombardi, Sclavi, Aquilei, Theutonici, Hungari ; qui omnes, oculata fide*

innovari signa et mirabilia immutari cernentes, laudabant et glorificabant omnipotentiam Conditoris.

And note this curious detail related by the "Primitive" writer :—Many of these bands of pilgrims brought great votive candles to be set up around the Saint's tomb, and some of them were so huge that they had to be brought in wagons drawn by two yoke of oxen, and it took sixteen men to carry them into the church.

It was not long, therefore, before the men of Padua were clamouring for Brother Anthony's canonization, and within a month of his decease a deputation from the Bishop and clergy of Padua and the Podestà and people of Padua had set out for Rome to petition Pope Gregory IX to enrol him in the Catalogue of Saints.

The "Primitive" writer contents himself with describing the members of this deputation as men of grave demeanour and worshipful station : *nuntios morum gravitate pollentes et conditione venerabiles* ; but Pope Gregory IX is more precise, he gives us the names of some of them :¹ G——, Prior of Santa Maria di Montecroce (this monastery was near the little town of Bataglia, in the hills, about fifteen miles north of

¹ In one of the Canonization Bulls :—*Litteras, quas per dilectos filios. Dat. Spoleti kalendis junii anno sexto* (June 1st, 1232).

Padua) and Brother Gerardus and Brother Spinabellus, who were probably Franciscans.

The deputation was received very cordially by the Roman Court; and Gregory, having summoned his Cardinals and discussed the matter with them at length, named Giacomo Corrado, Bishop of Padua, and the Prior of the Benedictines and the Prior of the Dominicans in the same city, his commissioners to examine as to the truth of the alleged miracles. The Prior of the Benedictines was at this time Giordano Sforzate, *cujus tunc arbitrio Padua et Vicentia voluntarie subjacebat*, says Rolandino.¹ Who the Prior of the Dominicans was is not known.

These ecclesiastics seem to have shown a very considerable amount of shrewdness and caution. A crowd of persons of both sexes at once presented themselves alleging that they had been healed through the glorious merits of Blessed Anthony of all sorts of diseases. These persons were put on oath and subjected to a most searching examination concerning their names and ages, their social standing, the nature of the maladies of which they had been cured and all the circumstances of the case—how, when and where; also, they were required to call witnesses to

¹ Lib. III, cap. IX, ap. Muratori, *Rerum ital. script*, t. VIII, col. 207.

attest the truth of their assertions, and these men were in their turn examined on oath and cross-examined over and over again. All of Saint Anthony's contemporary biographers testify in emphatic terms to the thoroughness with which the Papal Commissioners did their work, and Julian adds that a certain number of the alleged miracles were rejected as not proven, but that no less than forty-six, it seems a prodigious number, were held to be genuine.

A very full and minutely detailed report of all the proceedings was then drawn up by the three commissioners and in due course dispatched to the Curia, together with letters from the Bishop of Padua and his brethren the Canons, the Podestà and nobles and citizens of Padua, and the Master and scholars of the University of Padua, humbly petitioning the Pope to proceed with the canonization of Brother Anthony without delay.

Now it chanced about this time that Cardinal Ottone of Monte Ferrato and Cardinal Giacomo bishop-elect of Palestrina, the Pope's legates in Lombardy and the March of Trevisa, arrived in Padua; and when these men had seen and heard all that was going on, they too sent letters to the Pope and his Cardinals in favour of Anthony's canonization.

The cause then was making headway. But

some of the wisest and the most prudent of the Princes of the Church thought that it would be better to wait a while according to custom, lest peradventure they should incur the reproach of precipitation. But presently their scruples were removed: one of them had a dream.

He thought that he was in a new church and that the Supreme Pontiff, arrayed in glorious apparel and surrounded by all his Cardinals, was standing by the High Altar, waiting to consecrate it. "Give me the relics," said the Pope, but the Cardinals one and all replied, "We have none"; for in those days it was the custom, as it is still, to place relics in new altars.

Now it chanced that a corpse was in the church that day covered with a cloth waiting for burial, and when the Pope espied it, "Bring hither those fresh relics," said he, "and we will hide them in the altar," and the Cardinals, "There are no relics there, Holy Father, that is a corpse waiting for burial." "Maybe," said the Pope, "but take off the cloth and let us see what is underneath it." Now the Cardinals by no means relished this task and set about it very gingerly, and in the end one of them with the tips of his finger withdrew the cloth, and behold, a corpse white as snow and with no sign of corruption. Whereat the Cardinals fell to fighting over that

beautiful body which before they had been so loth to touch, for every man of them was determined to carry it himself to the altar.

A little gruesome, but very natural—very like a dream. I feel quite certain that the “Primitive” writer did not invent that story, nor does the interpretation which that Venerable Prince of the Church put on it seem to me under the circumstances to be very far fetched, and after he had related it to his colleagues next morning there was no further opposition to Saint Anthony’s canonization; but I cannot say as much for the title which the “Primitive” writer sets at the head of this story :—*De visione coelitus exhibita*.

The task of examining the inquisitors’ papers and all the papers concerning Saint Anthony was committed to Cardinal Giovanni, Bishop of Sabina, whose report was entirely favourable. Gregory therefore decided, with the consent and approval of all his Cardinals, to proceed with the canonization of Blessed Anthony at once. The ceremony took place in the old Cathedral Church of Spoleto—which is still standing—on Whitsun Day (May 30th), 1232—hardly a twelve-month after Saint Anthony’s decease—in the presence of the whole college of Cardinals, of Bishops, Abbots and other prelates from various parts of the world, and a vast concourse of the faithful.

First an account of the approved miracles was read out solemnly "according to custom," then a panegyric of the Saint was pronounced, by whom the "Primitive" writer does not say, and then uprose "the Lord's anointed" our old friend Ugolino—in all the glory of his magnificence, and with his eyes streaming with tears. He raised his hands to Heaven, and having invoked the name of the Divine Trinity, declared that Anthony, our most Blessed Father and Brother, was enrolled in the Catalogue of the Saints, and decreed that his feast should be celebrated every year on the anniversary of his death, *ad laudem et gloriam Dei, patris et filii et spiritus sancti, cui est honor et imperium per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.*

CHAPTER XV

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Of Julian von Speier and his compositions. Testimony of various writers concerning him from 1250 to 1499. That he wrote the "Legend of Saint Francis," *Ad hoc quorundam*, and the "Legend of Saint Anthony," *In Hispaniis civitate Ulysbona*, proved. Some notes concerning the date of these works.

JULIAN von Speier or Julian the German—*Frater Julianus Theutonicus* as his contemporaries more frequently call him—poet, musician, man of letters, member of the Order of Friars Minor, with a reputation for sanctity, and, as some said, worker of miracles, was in his own day, and not only in his own country but also in Italy, England, France, a man of renown. But little by little his glory dimmed, and in the end his very name was forgotten save by a few bookworms of his own Order.

Five and twenty years ago, when the outside world of art and letters, fired by the enthusiasm of Paul Sabatier, began to take an interest in things Franciscan and to ferret among faded parchments and to thumb neglected books, this friar was unearthed and once more set on a candlestick, and, thanks to the patient investiga-

tion of antiquaries not a few, we now know something of the details of his life.

He was born during the second half, and probably in the last quarter, of the eleven hundreds ; he made his studies in Paris and later on lectured there, for several years during the reign (1226-70) of Saint Louis of France he was choir-master of the French Chapel Royal, and, like so many of the first Franciscans, he was already in the evening of life when he put on the frock and cord. Probably he was present at a General Chapter of the Order that was held at Assisi in 1227 : in any case soon afterwards he set out with Brother Simon the Englishman on a missionary expedition to Germany, and during the greater part of his sojourn there he seems to have been stationed at Spire. In 1233 or thereabout we find him again in France and again occupying himself with literature and song, and in the year 1250, or maybe a year or two earlier, he went the way of all flesh. According to Bartholomew of Pisa he died in Paris and was buried in the cemetery of the great Franciscan house there.

As for his achievements in music and letters : though he was not the first, as was once thought, to use rhyming metre for antiphons, responsories and such like—for several rhymed offices have come down to us which in the opinion of experts

were written long before Julian's day—there can be no doubt that he excelled in the making of poetry of this kind or that his compositions are superior to those of his predecessors. His peculiar metres were so highly esteemed that it is hard to find any rhymed offices after his time written in other metres, and I think that it was in large measure owing to the beauty of his rhymed verses combined with the beauty of the melodies which he composed for them that this sort of liturgical poetry remained for such a long time in vogue.

Though Julian must have written many works, and we need not yet despair of some day finding more of them, only three at present have been brought to light of which it can be said with anything like confidence that they are his compositions :—

(a) The words and the music of an Office of Saint Anthony, not excluding the lessons. These lessons constitute the legend, *In Hispaniis civitate Ulysbona*, which was published by the Bollandists in 1698 under the title *Vita Sancti Antonii Auctore anonymo valde antiquo*.¹

This office begins with the words *Gaudeat ecclesia*.

(b) All the music and, with the exception of

¹ Acta S.S., t. III junii, pp. 198–201, 204–209.

the hymns, two responsories and two or three antiphons, all the text of an Office of Saint Francis, containing in its lessons the famous legend *Ad hoc quorundam*, which the Bollandists call the second legend and which was printed in consecutive form for the first time by Père Van Ortrov, S.J., in the *Analecta Bollandiana*.

This Office begins with the words *Franciscus vir Catholicus*.

(c) A fragment of an Office of Saint Dominic, viz. the music and the words of all the responsories and of most of the antiphons : when Julian had accomplished this much death stayed his hand, and the pieces lacking were added by another writer.

Though these three Offices are still in use, they are no longer recited as Julian wrote them : his two Franciscan pieces have been modified and remodified over and over again, especially *Franciscus vir*, and although the Dominicans in things liturgical are, and always have been, more conservative than the Franciscans, the Office of Saint Dominic in their Breviary of to-day is not, I think, quite the same as Julian's Office.

The text and the music of the original version of *Franciscus vir* have come down to us, but I doubt whether we have the original text of *Gaudeat ecclesia*.

Several witnesses, more or less credible, writing at various times between the year 1250 or thereabout and the closing year of the fourteen hundreds, give testimony concerning Julian and his compositions.

These writers use the word *Historia* over and over again, a technical, liturgical term which in the Middle Ages had many meanings. It signified originally a lesson or set of lessons taken from one of the historical books of the Old Testament, or a lesson or set of lessons containing the legend of a Saint; later on a responsory or a set of responsories; and later still a Breviary Office; and it had many other meanings as well with which we need not trouble ourselves. None of these significations became obsolete, and it not unfrequently happens that we find the same writer employing this word sometimes to signify a lesson, sometimes a responsory, sometimes an Office, and so forth; and the only way in which we can divine the meaning is from the context.

Our first witness was one of Julian's contemporaries and in all likelihood personally acquainted with him—our old friend Jordan of Giano. This honest friar informs us in his pleasant book that in the spring of the year 1227, when he himself was Warden of Thuringia and actually

residing in the city of Mülhausen, a General Chapter of the Order was held at Assisi, and after telling us amongst other things that took place at this Chapter that Simon the Englishman was appointed Provincial Minister of Germany, he thus continues :—

“ Frater ergo Symon veniens in Theutonium cum fratre Juliano qui postmodum hystoriam beati Francisci et beati Anthonii nobili stylo et pulchra melodia composuit, statim indixit in Colonia in festo apostolorum Symonis et Judae capitulum provinciale celebrandum.”

According to Jordan of Giano, then, Julian composed the *historiam* of Saint Francis and the *historiam* of Saint Anthony in noble language and set them to beautiful music, and these works were written after the year 1227.

The unknown author of that Franciscan “Chronicle” which ends with the year 1280 and which the Franciscan Friars of Quaracchi have reproduced in the first volume of their *Analecta Franciscana* from a manuscript dating from the close of the twelve hundreds thus testifies concerning Julian and his compositions :—

“ Qui (Frater Simon) ut primum in Germaniam cum Fratre Juliano de Spira, qui postmodum *officium* beati Francisci et Beati Antonii nobili stylo et pulcherrima melodia qua usque modo

utimur exornatum composuit, venisset, statim indixit provinciale capitulum,” etc.

“Here,” you will say, “we have nothing more than the echo of Jordan’s voice.” Just so : hence its value. For this anonymous writer, who in the above quotation copies Jordan almost textually, and evidently intended to convey to his readers the same information as Jordan, substitutes for the word *historiam*, another word—*officium*. This is a point of the first importance.

Our next witness is Bernard of Besse, disciple and secretary of Saint Bonaventure and author of the well-known *Liber de laudibus beati Francisci*. This legend was written about 1281, and it is a sort of supplement to Saint Bonaventure’s Great Legend : Bernard, as he himself has it, gathered up the ears which fell from his master’s sheaf lest, peradventure, any of them should perish. In the prologue to his work he gives a short account of Saint Francis’s former biographers, and in this account is contained his evidence concerning Julian. The following is the gist of it :—

Brother Thomas (of Celano), that master of exquisite eloquence, commissioned by the Lord Pope Gregory IX, wrote a Life of Blessed Francis, in Italy. In Italy too was written the Life which begins with the words *Quasi stella*

matutina and the author, I understand, was that venerable man Lord John, once Notary Apostolic. Another legend was written by Brother Julian, who at that time was living in France ; he was a man renowned for his learning and holiness, and he likewise wrote both the words and the music of our Holy Father's Night Hours, save only the hymns and certain antiphons and responsories which were written by the Supreme Pontiff himself and some of his Cardinals. And lastly we have the Great Legend of Brother Bonaventure, our Minister General.

The complete passage in the original Latin runs thus :—

“Plenam virtutibus beati Francisci vitam scripsit in Italia exquisitae vir eloquentiae frater Thomas, jubente domino Gregorio papa nono ; et eam quae incipit *Quasi stella matutina* vir venerabilis dominus, ut fertur, Johannes apostolicae sedis notarius. In Francia vero, Frater Julianus, scientiae et sanctitate conspicuus, qui etiam nocturnale officium in littera et cantu posuit, praeter hymnos et aliquantas antiphonas ac responsoria, quae summus ipse Pontifex et aliqui ex Cardinalibus in sancti praeconium ediderunt. Postremo compertum plenius vitae decursum . . . frater Bonaventura Generalis minister . . . authentico nimirum discretoque sermone discripsit.”

From Salimbene and from an anonymous MS. in the Vatican Library (codex 4354, f. 112), which dates, according to Père Van Ortroï who discovered it, from the close of the thirteen hundreds, we learn exactly what parts of the Office of Saint Francis were composed by Gregory IX and his Cardinals.

Salimbene informs us that Gregory wrote the hymn for first Vespers, *Proles de coelo prodiit*, the 8th responsory at Matins, *De paupertatis horreo* and the prose, *Caput Draconis ultimum*; and that Cardinal Thomas of Capua, who at that time was held to be the most polished writer in the Sacred College, composed the hymn for Matins, *In coeleste Collegio*, the 7th responsory at Matins, *Carnis Spicam*, and the hymn for second Vespers *Decus morum dux Minorum*.

Our anonymous friend is silent concerning Gregory's authorship of the prose, *Caput Draconis*, but confirms explicitly all Salimbene's other statements, and tells us furthermore (a) that Gregory wrote, in addition to the pieces above-mentioned, the antiphon to the Benedictus, *Sancte Francisce prospera*, (b) that Cardinal Thomas composed not only the hymns and responsories that Salimbene attributes to him, but also the antiphon to the Magnificat, *Salve sancte Pater*, (c) that the hymn at Laudes, *Plaude, turba pauperacula*, and the Compline antiphon, *Coelorum*

Candor, were from the pen of Cardinal Raynerius of Viterbo; and he adds "All the rest of the *Historia* of our Blessed Father Francis was composed and committed to writing and set to music by Brother Julian, formerly Conventual at Spires and lector at Paris, whose name by reason of the merits of his life is enrolled in the registers of the Order under 'Friars famous for Sanctity,' and may be seen on the list of illustrious Franciscans which hangs in the Sacristy of the Sacro Convento. The same Brother Julian composed and set to music the whole of the *Historia* of our Blessed Brother Anthony, and likewise, at the request of the Brethren of the Order of Preachers, all the responsories and most of the antiphons of Blessed Dominic, but prevented by death he never completed the *Historia* of Blessed Dominic." The Latin text of this most important piece of evidence is as follows :—

"Alia autem omnia que ad dicti beati patris (Francisci) ystoriam pertinent dictavit et cantavit et fecit frater Julianus Alamanus, quondam conventualis in Spira, lector Parisiensis, qui ob vite sue merita inter famosos et precipue sanctitatis fratres et in registris ordinis annotatus, sicut in cedula seu tabula, que in sacristiis sacri loci de Assisio pendet, cernitur contineri. Idem frater Julianus fecit et cantavit totam ystoriam beati

Antonii quondam fratris nostri. Etiam responsoria et antiphonas quam plures de beato Dominico ad petitionem fratrum ordinis Predicatorum; sed preventus morte ystoriam de beato Dominico non complevit” (extract from Vat. MS. quoted by Van Ortroj, viz. the last part).

Yet another witness—Paulinus Venetus, Franciscan, Penitentiary of Pope John XXII, for twenty years, from 1324, Bishop of Pozzuolo (Puteoli, that ancient port where Saint Paul tarried for seven days on his way to Rome) and the author of a book in its day famous, *Speculum historiale*, wherein, in chapter 229, section 26 (*De viris qui in ordine S. Franciscj floruerunt*) we find this note :—

Julianus Thevtonicus fecit historias et cantum beatorum Francisci et Antonii: Julian the German wrote the Offices and chant of Blessed Francis and of Blessed Anthony.

Bartholomew of Pisa, too, has something to say about Julian in his “Book of Conformities,” which was written about 1385 and approved by the General Chapter of Assisi in 1399. He repeats in language less precise what we have already heard from earlier and much more trustworthy witnesses, and adds to our little store of information two fresh facts :—He tells us that Julian was buried in the cemetery attached to the great

Franciscan Convent in Paris, and that before he entered religion he had been a great master of song at the Court of the King of France. In chapter VIII, section 2, where he speaks of the French province and the great Franciscan house at Paris, he says :—

“ Parisiis jacet Frater Julianus Theutonicus vir mirae sanctitatis, qui fecit Historias B. Francisci et B. Antonii quoad cantum et quoad antiphonas versus et responsoria; quibusdam antiphonas ad Magnificat et responsorio ‘ Carnis spicam ’ exceptis. Hic ante ordinis ingressum fuit Magister cantus in aula regis Francorum.”

And again in chapter XI, section 2 :—

“ In hoc etiam loco jacet Frater Julianus Theutonicus qui Legendam B. Francisci composuit et responsoria nocturnaliam cantumque B. Francisci quoad hymnos et omnia ipse composuit: fuit enim in cantu magister summus in aula regis Francorum, et fuit in ordine sanctus frater et devotissimus.”

We now come to a late but most important witness—Glassberger. Nicholas Glassberger, Franciscan of the German Province, conscientious, industrious, painstaking, author of a “ Chronicle ” completed in 1499, is the first witness who tells us explicitly that Julian was one of Saint Anthony’s biographers, and the first witness who thought it

worth while to identify Julian’s “Life of Saint Francis.” He gives us the opening words.

Writing of the year 1227, and with “Jordan’s Chronicle,” surely, and, too, the “Quaracchi Chronicle” lying open on his desk, he says :—

“Frater Simon autem cum venisset ad Teutonium cum fratre Juliano de Spira, qui postmodum historiam beati Francisci et beati Antonii nobili stylo et pulchra melodia quas modo cantamus et legendam sancti Francisci quae incipit *Ad hoc quorumdam* urbana elegancia dictavit et composuit, statim indixit,” etc.

Again, writing of the year 1277, he says :—

“Claruit eodem tempore frater Johannes de Peczamo (Peckamo) vir magnae sufficientiae et virtutis, multum famosus magister sacrae theologiae qui de mandato fratris Hieronymi generalis ministri, vitam beati Antonii Paduani miro stylo conscripsit, quamvis Frater Julianus de Spira, Theutonicus, cantor Parisiensis et corrector mensae, historiam, antiphonas ac legendam compendiosiore olim, tempore fratris Johannis Parentis, ministri generalis, digessisset” (“Chron. Analecta Fran.” t. II, pp. 90, 91).

Now there flourished about the same time a famous Doctor of Divinity who led a most virtuous life and was a man of much competence : Brother John of Peckham (later on Archbishop of Canter-

bury). He made a " Legend of Blessed Anthony of Padua " which was marvellously well written, commissioned thereto by Brother Jerome, Minister General of the Order,¹ and that, notwithstanding the fact that in days of yore—to wit in the reign of Brother John Parenti—Brother Julian von Speier, otherwise Julian the German, cantor at Paris and *Corrector mensae*, had written together with the responsories and the antiphons a most comprehensive legend of the same blessed man.

In face of the evidence of the writers above-quoted all students of things Franciscan acknowledge that Julian was the author of the " Life of Saint Francis " beginning with the words *Ad hoc quorundam*, that he wrote it for a set of lessons for the Office *Franciscus vir Catholicus*, and that that Office, with the exception of the pieces attributed in the Vatican Codex 4354 and by Salimbene to Gregory IX and some of his Cardinals, is likewise from his pen, and also that he wrote Saint Anthony's ancient Office, *Gaudeat ecclesia*, all of it except the lessons, for there are some who are not convinced that the legend, *In Hispaniis civitate Ulysbona*, was written by Julian: the most they will say is that it may be his work.

Let us therefore confine ourselves to the consideration of this question.

¹ Jerome of Ascoli, afterwards Pope Nicholas IV.

The evidence in favour of Julian’s authorship of the legend *Ad hoc quorundam* is indeed less complicated than that in favour of his authorship of *In Hispaniis civitate*.

That he wrote a life of Saint Francis, says that early and most reliable witness Besse; so too Pisanus, a writer indeed of less credit, and also Glassberger, and Glassberger takes care to identify it: “*Legendum Sancti Francisci quae incipit Ad hoc quorundam.*”

But Glassberger, perhaps the reader will say, is a very late witness, and his uncorroborated statements must be accepted with caution. True, but as Père Van Ortroï points out, this statement is corroborated, and by a witness most credible—Besse, who, although he only tells us that Julian wrote a life of Saint Francis and does not indicate it verbally, hands us a divining wand which enables us to discern it—a wand which turns without the slightest deviation to the legend, *Ad hoc quorundam*. For in his *Liber de laudibus* there is a long passage taken almost word for word from the fourth chapter (*De transitu Beati Francisci*) of this legend. It is evident, therefore, that Besse knew it. Now we learn from the Prologue to his own book, and from the book itself, that the only legends of Saint Francis with which he was

acquainted were those written by Celano, Saint Bonaventure, Brother Julian and the Venerable Lord John. Wherefore *Ad hoc quorundam* is the work of one of these four men. It was not written by the Lord John, for his book begins with the words *Quasi stella matutina*, as Besse himself informs us, and, moreover, it is perfectly well known, nor was it written by Celano, nor yet by Saint Bonaventure, for their lives of Saint Francis have all of them been identified, and it is not amongst them. *Ad hoc quorundam* then must be the work of Julian von Speier.

The critics who are not convinced that Julian wrote the Legend *In Hispaniis civitate* put the case in this way :—Glassberger, a very late writer, is the first to say that Julian wrote a legend of Saint Anthony, his statement is uncorroborated, and he does not identify the legend.

It is quite true that Glassberger is a very late writer and that he is the first to say explicitly that Julian wrote a life of Saint Anthony, but I think I shall be able to show that his statement is not uncorroborated, and that he does identify the legend. First for his identification.

Glassberger informs us, as we have already seen, that in the year 1277 John Peckham composed a life of Saint Anthony, although Julian von Speier had already, in the days of John Parenti, written an *historiam* (a set of responsories), *antiphonas ac*

legendam of the same Saint ; in other words Julian had written a complete Office of Blessed Anthony including the lessons. That Office, when Glassberger wrote, was still in use, for he speaks of it in another passage, already quoted, as “ the Office which we still sing.”

This, then, is Glassberger’s identification, and it is a most efficacious one. He says, in effect, “ Julian wrote a legend of Saint Anthony, if you want to know what legend, open your Breviaries at the Feast of Saint Anthony.”

Breviaries of Glassberger’s time are rare, but I was fortunate enough to be able to consult two, one printed in 1481 and the other in 1500, not indeed Franciscan Breviaries, but, quite as good, Roman Breviaries, for the Franciscans followed the Roman rite, and the Franciscan Pope, Sixtus IV, had inserted in the Roman Breviary all their special Offices. In each of these Breviaries I found the legend *In Hispaniis civitate*, almost the whole of it, and word for word as the Bollandists give it in their *Acta Sanctorum*.¹

Why then did not Glassberger identify in this

¹ In each of these breviaries the legend is divided into two sets of lessons : one for the Feast and Octave of Saint Anthony (June 13-20) and the other for the Feast of the Translation of Saint Anthony (Feb. 15). The first contains the Life of the Saint from the day of his birth to his departure from Camposampiero, a few hours before his death : the last lesson ends abruptly thus—*cum dolore impositum curui dimiserunt*. Nothing is said in either set

way Julian's "Life of Saint Francis," which was also written for a set of lessons? For this very good reason, he could not: it was not in the Breviary when Glassberger wrote: more than two hundred years before it had been superseded by Saint Bonaventure's "Life of Saint Francis."

of the Saint's arrival at Arcella, nor of any of the incidents that took place there until after he had received Extreme Unction. The second set begins with these words:—*Cum beatus Antonius unctionem devote suscipet psalmos penitentiales ipse cum fratribus decantavit* and ends with the account of the Saint's burial. What follows in the Bollandists' version—the miracles, the pilgrimages, the petition for Anthony's canonization etc.—is omitted. Wherefore these omissions, one at the end of the first, and one at the end of the second set of lessons? I can offer no explanation. And note, the second set contains a detailed and graphic account of the quarrel between the friars and the nuns concerning the place of burial; and yet, the feast on which these lessons were appointed to be read was not instituted to commemorate this interesting episode, but something which happened twenty years afterwards—the translation by Saint Bonaventure of Saint Anthony's bones from his tomb in the old Church of Saint Mary to the shrine where they are still venerated. Inexplicable.

The older breviary has no title-page: it begins with these words:—*In nomine domini Iesu Christi Amen. Ordo psalterii secundum morem et consuetudinem romane curie feliciter incipit*, and ends thus:—*Explicit breviarium secundum morem romane curie: impressum Venetias per Franciscum renner de hailbrun: Anno domini M.CCCC.LXXXI.º Deo gratias.*

The less ancient breviary has this title-page:—*Breviarium de Camera secundum consuetudinem Rhomane Curie* and the date is printed at the end of the volume: A.D. 1500.

Thus much for identification, now for corroboration.

Jordan says that Julian wrote the *historiam* of Saint Anthony; Quaracchi, the *Officium*. It is evident that both these writers meant the same thing: Julian wrote the “Office of Saint Anthony.” But the lessons are an integral part of the Office, therefore Julian wrote the lessons of Saint Anthony, in other words, a life of Saint Anthony. Glassberger’s statement, then, is corroborated by those two early and eminently respectable witnesses Jordan of Giano and the unknown author of the Quaracchi Chronicle.

Moreover, Glassberger gives us some inkling of the date of these compositions: he says, in a passage already quoted, that Julian had digested them—*digessisset* a word which expresses exactly what Julian did; for his Life is derived from the Primitive Life, and his Antiphons, etc., are merely passages from that Life put into rhyming verse—in General John Parenti’s day. Now Parenti was deposed by the General Chapter that met at Assisi on the Whit Sunday of 1233, according to the Quaracchi Chronicle, but, according to Jordan, of 1232. This is probably a slip on Jordan’s part, for a general Chapter would hardly have been held on the day of Saint Anthony’s canonization. I think, then, that Parenti com-

missioned Julian to write, immediately after the Canonization, and that the work was finished before the following spring.

And now I will hazard a conjecture :—The “ Primitive Life ” is from the pen of John Parenti himself. He wrote it at the behest of the Bishop of Padua, and primarily for a set of lessons for Saint Anthony’s first festival. The work was begun as soon as Parenti knew that the Pope had decided to Canonize Saint Anthony—early in the year 1232 most likely—and completed before the Canonization (May 30th, 1232), all of it save the brief account of that function and the triumphant postscript which follows it :—*Nuntii vero civitatis Paduæ, concito gressu domum properantes, ante completum post mortem beati Antonii annum felici pompa reversi sunt et eodem die, revoluto transmigrationis ipsius anno indicibili sollemnitate celebrarunt.*

This, I repeat, is merely an hypothesis : these are the facts that suggest it :—

1. The author of the “ Primitive Life ” was a Franciscan : he calls Saint Francis “ our father,” Saint Anthony, “ our brother,” the Franciscan Order, “ our order,” over and over again.

2. That he was an Italian, or at all events well acquainted with Italy, is clear from his descriptions of Italian places.

3. What he says about Coimbra and about Lisbon indicates that those cities were known to him.

4. What was rare amongst the children of Saint Francis in these early days, he was not without a certain amount of culture, as his book shows.

5. He wrote it at the request of his brethren and by order of some ecclesiastical dignitary, as he tells us himself in his prologue: *Assidua fratrum postulatione deductus, nec non et obedientiae salutaris fructu provocatus, ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis Dei, vitam et actus beatissimi patris ac fratris nostri Antonii caritati fidelium ac devotioni scribere dignum duxi.*

6. At some time or other in the course of his career he had been acquainted with Soeiro Viegas II Bishop of Lisbon, from 1210 till his death on the 29th of January 1232, for he tells us that he had learnt from the lips of this prelate some of the things contained in his book: *Denique nonnulla scribo quae oculis ipse non vidi; tamen Sugerio secundo Ulixbonensi episcopo et aliis viris catholicis referentibus ipsa cognovi.*

7. John Parenti was a Tuscan of Carmignano, in the world he had practised law and was a jurisconsult of some standing, and when, in middle life, he decided to become a Franciscan, he was holding the important position of Judge in the

old Cathedral town of Cività Castellana. The exact date of his clothing is uncertain, but we know that in 1219 he was named Minister Provincial of Spain and that he held this post until the month of August 1227, when he was elected Minister General in succession to Saint Francis. Now at this time the Franciscan province of Spain, which was sometimes called the province of Saint James of Compostella, included within its borders Aragon, Castile, Navarre, and the whole of the kingdom of Portugal. During his long residence, of eight years in this corner of Europe, Parenti, from his official position, must have had many conversations with Soeiro II, Bishop of Lisbon; and it is more than likely, during this period, he made the acquaintance of Saint Anthony, who joined the Order at Coimbra about 1220: in any case he met him at Assisi, as we have seen, at the General Chapter that assembled there in 1230. From time to time in the course of his religious career Parenti dabbled in literature, and his writings were held by his contemporaries in high esteem.

8. The Primitive Legend is to be found arranged as a set of lessons, in a thirteenth-century Breviary, which, on the 6th of November, 1487, was presented to the *Sacro Convento* by Bishop Francesco Maria, who at that time ruled the

Churches of Perugia and Viterbo and was also acting Minister General of the Franciscan Order. This Breviary is now in the Municipal Library of Assisi, No. 272.

Before closing this dull chapter, though it does not immediately concern us, it will be interesting to try and find out when Julian composed his “Office of Saint Francis.”

Thomas of Eccleston, in his book *De Adventu Minorum in Angliam*, writing somewhere about the year 1266, in a note concerning Brother Augustine, afterwards Bishop of Laodicea, tells us how this man in the days of his youth, returning to England from a visit to Italy, very full of his adventures and the marvellous things he had heard and seen, related publicly at our place in London how he had been to Assisi on the festival of Saint Francis, when the Lord Pope Gregory was there, and had preached and had sung Mass at a table set outside the church under the canopy of Heaven, because, on account of the crush of worshippers, it was not possible to celebrate within; and how, when the Pope was going to the place of preaching, the friars had sung *Hunc sanctus praelegerat*, whereat His Holiness had vouchsafed to chuckle to himself gently.

Now the piece which made Gregory smile—

Hunc sanctus preelegerat
In patrem quando preerat
Ecclesie minori,
Hunc spiritu prophetico
Previsum apostolico
Predixerat honori.

is the third psalm-antiphon at Vespers of the Office *Franciscus vir*. It is evident then that *Franciscus vir* was already written and well known when Gregory IX and Brother Augustine celebrated the feast of Saint Francis together in the Seraphic City.

When did this thing happen?

Evidently on the 4th of October—the Day of Saint Francis's festival—in some year after 1227 and before 1240. For Saint Francis was canonized in the summer of 1228, and Gregory, who had steered the barque of Peter from the 27th of March, 1226, died on the 22nd of August, 1241.

But we can get nearer than this : from the dates of his correspondence which is still preserved in the Vatican Registers, we are fairly well acquainted with Gregory's movements. He was at Perugia from July 19th, 1228, till the end of February 1230. Perugia is not more than ten miles from Assisi, and therefore he may well have been there on October 4th in 1228 and in 1229. Not so in 1230 nor in 1231, nor 1232 nor 1233, for in 1230

on Saint Francis's day he was at Anagni, which is several hundred miles from Assisi, in 1231 at Reati, which is a little nearer but not within a day's journey, and in 1232 and 1233 again at Anagni. On the 4th of October, 1234, he may, however, have been at Assisi. We have a letter of his written from Perugia on the 18th of September in this year, and henceforth until the beginning of September in the following year all his letters are dated from Perugia. Be this as it may, he was certainly at Assisi on the first week of October in 1235. He arrived there, as we learn from his correspondence, on or before the 16th of September; on the 1st of October he was still there, but he wrote a letter on the 6th which is dated from Foligno, some eight miles south of Assisi in the Vale of Spoleto. He left the city of Saint Francis, then, between the 1st and the 6th of October and he never again returned.

If, then, Brother Augustine was really at Assisi on some Saint Francis's day when Pope Gregory IX was there—and there is no reason to think either that Eccleston invented the story or that what Augustine said was false—it must have been in 1228 or 1229, or 1234 or 1235. It was not, I think, in 1228 or 1229, for the Office *Franciscus vir*, from which the antiphon was taken that moved Gregory to laughter, can hardly have been written so early,

since, as we have seen, Saint Francis was not canonized until the summer of 1228; and there is reason to believe, though it is not absolutely certain, that *Franciscus vir* is not his first Office :— In the convent of San Damiano, not a stone's throw from the eastern gate of Assisi, there is an ancient Roman service-book which dates probably from the time of Innocent III and is called Saint Clare's Breviary, although it is in reality a Missal and Breviary combined, and there is no evidence to suggest that it ever belonged to the Seraphic Mother. At the end of this book, written in a different hand to the rest, and evidently of more recent date, there is a Proprium of Saint Francis that consists of lessons only, nor are they Julian's lessons, but taken almost word for word from Celano's first "Life of Saint Francis." Augustine's visit to Assisi, then, took place in 1234 or 1235, and Julian's "Office of Saint Francis" must have been written about the same time as his "Office of Saint Anthony."

RHYTHMUS AD BEATISSIMUM ANTONIUM.

Te saluto O Antoni,
Mi amice mi patrone,
Lacrimarum in hac valle
 Dulcis consolatio.
Restitutor perditorum
Et solutor debitorum,
In turbarum omni gyro
 Pax et quietatio.

Ave doctor timorate,
Arca foederis antiqui,
Testamenti novi forma
 Speculum scientiae.
Salve sancte alte tonans,
Veritatem tuba spargens,
Vox ad poenitendum suadens,
 Praedicator optime.

Cum gaudenti coexultans,
Cum lugenti, te contristans,
Omnes Christo ut lucreris
 Omnibus fis omnia.
Sicut tu quis, O electe,
Qui coelorum alta colis
Et descendis ad tenebras
 Replens nos laetitia.

Malleus haereticorum,
Debellator tyrannorum,
Potens plebis sustentator,
 Pater tu es pauperum.
Tu asylum peccatorum,
Infirmorum medicina,
Afflictorum consolator
 Et spes desperantium.

Ergo nunquam desperandum,
 Dux praedulcis, bone pastor,
 Te regente, te fovente,
 Nihil mihi deerit.
 Vigilans non trepidabo
 Dormiensque non timebo,
 Quia illi quem obumbras
 Semper Christus aderit.

O beate mi Antoni,
 Omnibus diebus meis,
 Me conduce, me custodi,
 Cunctis meis semitis.
 Omni in perturbatione,
 Omni in trepidatione,
 Sis tu mihi, Pater pie,
 Turris fortitudinis.

Per te mihi tribuantur,
 Pro delictis mei cunctis,
 Poenitens cor ac contritum
 Atque absolutio.
 Omni in tribulatione,
 Omni in derelictione,
 A te mihi impetretur
 Sancta resignatio.

Sic in bonis, sic in malis,
 Fauces meae, te docente,
 Laudes Sanctae Trinitatis
 Omni die proferent.
 Ecce nunc advesperascit,
 Mane mecum, sancte, fortis,
 Quia canes circumlatrant
 Quaerentes quem devorent.

Dona mihi hora mortis
 Genitricem exaltare
 Suavitatem unctionis,
 Creatorem cernere.

Precor te me visitare
In pausantûm civitate,
Pro me precor te orare
In umbrarum carcere.

Sic, Antoni, frater pie,
Post obscurum lux jocunda
Lumen Christi Lumen carum
Dissipet caliginem.
Sic paternam reddat domum
Urbs aeterna, urbs praeclara,
Urbs coelestis felix Roma
Et cor Jesu requiem.

THE END

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